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NOTES AND NEWS.

COLONEL H. B. HANNA writes to us as follows: "It is a pity that the *Scotsman* did not wait a few days longer before calling upon the Liberal party, in its article of the 12th inst., to apologise to the Government for having ventured to quarrel with their India frontier policy, for assuredly there could have been no bragging of the thoroughness with which the tribes have been reduced to submission, and of the peace which reigns along the border, had it studied the papers which the very next Indian mail brought to England. The *Civil and Military Gazette*, a journal published at Lahore, the seat of the Punjab Government, and specially well informed in all matters connected with frontier politics, writing on the 27th ultimo, declared that a storm was brewing on the frontier which the Government was preparing to meet, that a disturbance in Tochi or Bajaur would surprise but few, and that a rising in the latter country might carry Swat with it. The Allahabad *Pioneer*, though professing not to share the *Gazette's* anticipation of early trouble, since partially verified, was, in its own way, even more pessimistic, for whilst denying the possibility of lasting friendship with the tribes so long as we hold our present provocative position in their territories, it maintained that the disarmament out of which so much capital had been made was quite illusory, so far at least as the Afridis were concerned; that the recent frontier expeditions had worn our best troops to rags, and that recruiting in consequence had been most seriously affected; whilst all the other Anglo-Indian papers, with the exception of the *Times of India*, joined in a chorus of grumbling at the sacrifices which the 'forward' policy had imposed upon the Indian army and the Indian people, and the shadowy gains which had so far been purchased by them.

"But even if the Government's success in restoring peace to the border and confidence to public opinion in India were as complete as it is inadequate, the opponents of their Indian frontier policy—opponents who are by no means confined to the ranks of the Liberal party—would be under no obligation to accept the part of penitent that the *Scotsman* tries to force upon them, since it is no justification of an unnecessary war that it has been brought to a triumphant conclusion. When the *Scotsman* can show beyond dispute that the security of India was endangered by the relations existing between her Government and the Pathan tribes prior to the Afghan war—then, and not till then, we who stand by those relations as at once the wisest, most economical and most humane, may be reduced to apologise for the hard things which we have said and written against a policy whose chief living champion has recently admitted that, in defending it, he left its cost—in other words its effect upon the interests, and through those interests upon the loyalty of the vast population of India—entirely out of account."

We mentioned last Friday the rumours current in the Anglo-Indian journals that fresh trouble was impending beyond the North-West frontier. "If," we added, "anyone believes that we have reached the end of the troubles brought upon India by the 'forward' policy, he is capable of believing anything." A Central News telegram, dated Simla, Sunday, stated that despatches from the frontier pointed to fresh disturbances along the Chitral road. "The Nawab of Dir, it is asserted," the message ran, "has started with a strong force for the Jandol Valley. The Hadda Mulla and the Mad Fakir are actively endeavouring to raise men to oppose him." Further telegrams show that a good deal of fighting has already taken place, and that more is expected. On Tuesday the Simla correspondent of the *Times* despatched a message which contained some rather significant phrases. "News," he said, "has been received of fighting between the tribal forces of the Nawab of Dir and the Bajauris in the Jandol Valley. This intelligence is specially interesting because the Nawab is subsidised by the Indian Government to keep open the Chitral road, a fact which causes him to be detested by every clan whose fanaticism and love of independence make them resent the British occupation of Malakand and Chakdara." The correspondent added that "these disturbances cannot but cause anxiety to the Government, whose great desire is to secure the peace of the country bordering on the line of communication with Chitral." Later messages stated that in the fighting which took place on Sunday the Nawab lost 31 killed and 50 wounded, and the Bajauris 136 killed and wounded. "Unless the Chitral road be blocked," Reuter's agency said, "British interference does not appear probable."

One is reminded once more of Lord George Hamilton's brave words in the House of Commons, on February 17, 1896, about the occupation of Chitral:—

> Before sitting down he congratulated his friends behind him that the first time they had to give a party vote last year they were actuated by true political interests when, by an overwhelming majority, they assented to this forward movement. He believed there had been no forward movement in recent years made by any Government which had been more beneficial to all concerned, and which would tend [? more] to put an end to those periodical disturbances and outbreaks of fanaticism and terrorism which had characterised that part of her Majesty's dominions.

So, too, Lord G. Hamilton declared that the tribesmen welcomed the British advance, and regretted nothing but the fact that their country could not be formally incorporated in British territory. The contrast between that cheery view and the present admission of the Simla correspondent of the *Times* that our employment of the Nawab of Dir to keep the Chitral road open "causes him to be detested by every clan whose fanaticism and love of independence make them resent the British occupation of Malakand and Chakdara," is the measure of the recklessness of the "forward" policy. But the change of tone in the Simla correspondent of the *Times* is by no means the only sign which seems rather to suggest that the authorities are beginning to see the error of their ways. Sir M. E. Grant Duff's speech, which we cited a fortnight ago, was highly significant. So, too, are the opinions expressed by the Anglo-Indian Press upon Mr. Thorburn's recent speech at Simla, and the hint dropped by the *Pioneer* that the British garrison at Chitral may shortly be withdrawn. We hope that these signs are not illusory. But, even if sanity should at length prevail, what an appalling cost in blood and treasure the "forward" policy has involved!

We refer at some length elsewhere to Mr. Thorburn's speech at Simla, of which we printed a report last week. There is one point which we may notice here. Mr. Thorburn remarked that the lecturer had "said nothing of the long starvation of the civil administration of India, due to the constant outpouring of treasure on these frontier wars, nothing about the impressment of men and animals for transport." He said that of the 100,000 animals and 25,000 men impressed only one-sixth or one-tenth were actually sent to the front; in the majority of cases it was a cruel exercise of power which had not even the plea of necessity to justify it.

While the higher branches of the Indian administration are the best paid in the world, and money is lavished on

wars beyond the frontier, there are constant complaints o... the low salaries of the minor officials—salaries fixed long ago when the cost of living was much less than it is now. The *Hindu* even ventures to assert that the famine-coolies are better off than the tax-gatherers of the Government. Many of these are frequently called upon to attend at the Divisional Offices, but apparently they get nothing for their expenses there or on the way. They have continually to write reports; but they must, it is said, find their own stationery. And when some village officials of Malabar lately petitioned against this state of things, they were told that nothing could be done till the revenue settlement was completed, which may be another twelve years. Surely this starvation of the lower ranks of the official hierarchy is bad policy.

It was pretty generally believed up to a few weeks ago that Lord Elgin's successor in the Viceroyalty of India was to be Lord Balfour of Burleigh. It is now stated—with how much truth we do not profess to know—that the offer of the post was made to Lord Balfour but declined on various grounds, public and personal. If this be really the case, it is to be regretted, for Lord Balfour, as we said some time ago, is probably the best of all the men whom Lord Salisbury would be likely to regard as eligible. The rumour of Lord Balfour's refusal is accompanied by another rumour which will seem to most people absurdly incredible —namely, that Lord Elgin's successor is to be Mr. George Curzon, M.P. We say that this story is incredible for at least two reasons. In the first place, Mr. Curzon, whose ability and personal popularity are evident enough, has lately been laid up through overwork at the Foreign Office, and is still believed to be far from well. Could anything, therefore, be more improbable than that his colleagues should think of imposing upon him at this particular moment duties which, next to those of the Prime Minister himself, are or ought to be the most exacting in the Empire, and which are at present aggravated by a series of special difficulties, partly no doubt inevitable, but partly produced by flagrant errors of policy?

In the second place, it is the convenient practice to choose for Viceroy of India a man who is not, at any rate, too deeply committed to a particular way of regarding the burning questions of the hour in India. This is the policy of the Open Mind. But Mr. Curzon's theories about Indian frontier policy are so extreme as to astonish even those who admire them most. It is inconceivable that Lord Salisbury should send out to India as the new Viceroy the brilliant and audacious young Minister who, when all his colleagues were singing small about the frontier war at the beginning of the present Session, coolly advocated a policy of advance until British should face Russian soldiers on the Oxus. Lord Salisbury may be fond of a practical joke in the most serious matters, but it is not to be thought that he would carry his cynical humour so far.

The British Committee of the Indian National Congress, at its meeting on Tuesday last, unanimously adopted, on the motion of Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, seconded by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, a resolution expressing their deep sense of the loss involved to India in the death of Dr. W. A. Hunter, late M.P. for North Aberdeen, and their sympathy with his relatives in their bereavement. On another page we give some account of the late Dr. Hunter's life and work.

Mr. Theodore Morison's astounding contribution to the discussion on the question, "Is India growing poorer?" which appeared in the *Pioneer* a short time ago, is trenchantly criticised by the *Friend of India.* It will be remembered that Mr. Morison came to the conclusion that, though the agricultural labourers might be worse off than they were fifty years ago, owners and tenants of irrigated land—and he put these at twenty-five out of forty-seven millions of the population—were getting three times as great a profit. Now, on looking into the matter it appears that this imposing superstructure rests on a comparison of the evidence of only two individuals, one at each end of the period. We have no information how these worthies obtained their figures. We do not even know that the figures are used with the same meaning in each case—whether, for instance, the prices given are the ... the open market, or what was actually ... the particular cultivators. On the other hand, it is impossible to reconcile Mr. Morison's roseate view with what is known of the mode of life of the Indian peasantry, or with the value of the property, so far as it can be ascertained, which they possessed at the two epochs, or with their growing indebtedness which is such a marked and ominous feature of the present time.

The plague—or what is thought to be the plague—continues to advance slowly at Calcutta, the number of suspected cases up to July 4 having risen to 167. But it is admitted that many suspected cases were not plague at all. According to the *Friend of India*, the general health of the town is extremely good, the death-rate being only slightly over half the average for the preceding five years (24 as compared with 45). Between April 30 and June 25, 1,861 persons belonging to all sections of the community had been inoculated. The panic happily seems to be at an end. But there are not wanting some indications that, in spite of absurd exaggerations, there were really some grounds to fear an excess of zeal in combating the epidemic. The *Bengalee* tells of a man at Satara who to his own great distress was treated as a plague patient, though it was ultimately found that he had never suffered from plague. And the same thing may easily have happened at Calcutta.

Meantime the Indian newspapers are quick to acknowledge the sympathetic spirit shown in the new plague regulations of Bombay and Madras, which by their mildness seem likely to secure the co-operation of the people. Thus the *Hindu* says:—

> Twelve months ago when the Bombay Government rushed headlong into measures of extreme severity and played havoc with the most sacred feeling and cherished prejudices of the people, scattering terror and suffering everywhere and irritating the public mind beyond the limits of endurance, sober people were astonished at the folly and want of knowledge shown by experienced administrators who ought to have known better and to whom to point out that communities should not be handled as if they were a pack of wild beasts ought to have been superfluous. Though it is a matter for great regret that the first experience of plague administration should have been gained through so much error, so much hardship to the people, and so much misunderstanding between the Government and the community, still it is satisfactory that Government has now admitted the failure of its original policy, and has adopted one which is more rational, more in accord with the conditions under which the disease has to be grappled with, and more likely to be attended with success on the whole.

From the accounts which appear in the *Tribune* of Lahore, it is plain that the poor, ignorant and panic-stricken inhabitants of Garshankar are being treated with immeasurably greater severity than the rioters in Belfast. In Belfast the mob wounded more than a hundred policemen. At Garshankar the people, annoyed beyond endurance by plague measures, threw stones and brick-bats, and the police fired upon them, apparently without orders, causing grievous hurt and death. Then came the police investigation, and 48 of the rioters have been tried and severely dealt with. At present there is a police cordon round the village to prevent the exiled villagers from returning into their houses until the "infected area" is declared free from infection. We have no doubt that the Government is acting with the best intentions. But the measures strike us as needlessly harsh, and harsh measures are often a source of real danger in India.

The second Vizagapatam District Conference was held on June 2, 3, and 4. The resolutions on land legislation are worthy of note. The Conference held that the Madras Presidency fulfilled the necessary conditions for a permanent settlement of the land revenues, requested the Government to take the subject into consideration at an early date, and generally approved of the principles of the Madras Tenancy Bill, while praying that its consideration might be deferred to allow the people to submit their views. With regard to water-cess, the Conference protested against the injustice of levying consolidated water-rates where the Government has failed to supply water. This is somewhat startling. In Bengal the water-rate can be levied only in respect of fields actually irrigated by canal water.

With regard to the question raised by the *Hindu Patriot* (Calcutta) as to whether the zemindars of Bengal are adequately represented in the Bengal Council, the *Bengalee* gives some interesting facts which seem to be

conclusive. The *Bengalee* shows that during the five years preceding the re-organisation of the Council in accordance with the new Act, the number of zemindars in the Council never exceeded two, and sometimes there was not one. On the other hand, since the re-organisation of the Council under the new Act, there have always been two zemindar members, and in the present year there are as many as three. For the rest, to "divide and rule" is the policy which Anglo-Indian administrators are never reluctant to adopt in India, but the classes which the *Hindu Patriot* represents are, we believe, too intelligent to allow themselves to be separated in sympathy and good feeling from other sections of the people. They could, of course, secure no special favour by it. Their present patrons would "show them the door" after securing the object of creating a division.

The selection of a topic for a speech at a Prize Distribution is a task of which the Duke of Devonshire hardly seems to have appreciated the delicacy. In his speech at a boys' school last Saturday (which we report elsewhere) he chose to glorify the British Empire not so much for the qualities and the duties upon which one would think that an audience of schoolboys might usefully be addressed, but as something of which every corner offered them an opportunity of "seeking a career." He mentioned India in particular, having spoken just before of the "pleasure of ruling over millions of more or less civilised people." How is it that distinguished persons who are invited to talk about education on school field-days are so prone to praise it not for its essentials but for its accidentals—not for what it is, but for the pounds, shillings and pence which, in the fulness of time, it may be expected to bring? That the Lord President of the Council—the titular head of the English educational system—should have gone out of his way to worship the too popular goddess of "getting on" is peculiarly deplorable; and the Duke of Devonshire's remarks were as great a disservice to the Empire as to education. Philistine parents may pant above all else for lucrative "careers" for their sons, but might not some more generous and stimulating ideals of conduct be offered to the boys themselves? It is speeches like this which give cause to the enemy to blaspheme. It is commonly said by shrewd Indians that Englishmen regard India chiefly as an answer to the question "what shall we do with our boys?" The belief is encouraged, and justly encouraged, by speeches like the Duke's.

It is refreshing in these days of competitive Jingoism, when civilised Powers pour out their money like water in the game of capping navies, to come upon a document like the manifesto of the Newcastle "Patriotic Union." "True patriotism," according to this admirable compilation, "consists in maintaining the liberty and promoting the progress of our own country, in subordination to the general welfare of mankind, and in developing its friendly and harmonious relations with all the other peoples of the world." This is a more pleasing patriotism than the spurious article, made in Birmingham, which ignores one's own country as "parochial" in order to give the maximum of offence to the rest of the world. Again, "the security of every nation is to be preserved rather by the resolute avoidance of an aggressive and irritating policy abroad than by an increase of provocative and burdensome armaments"—a very different conception from Mr. Chamberlain's doctrine of the long spoon and Mr. Goschen's allied doctrine of the long bill. In the same spirit the Patriotic Union lays it down that "all attempts at the extension of empire are to be condemned, as tending to prolong militarism, to imperil the peace of the world, and to retard the industrial, political, and moral progress of mankind; and in the case of existing empires it should be an object of policy to gradually and prudently grant complete self-government and independence to the various nationalities included in or held in subjection to them, with a view to their free and voluntary co-operation on a basis of common interests and opinions." This, it may be said, is a large order. But even those who, like ourselves, cannot foresee a period at which, for example, British rule in India could with safety and advantage terminate, may nevertheless agree cordially with the spirit of the teaching, and regard it as "an object of policy to gradually and prudently" work in the direction of self-government. It could be wished that there were many more bodies like this excellent Patriotic Union to combat the prevailing Jingo and "ascendency" temper of the day, which, if it is not checked, can bring only misery and red ruin.

We understand that Mr. W. A. Chambers, the editor of the vigorous *Champion*, of Bombay, who returned to England a few days ago from India, will be entertained at breakfast at Westminster Palace Hotel on Wednesday next. The hosts on the occasion will be Sir W. Wedderburn, M.P., Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, Mr. A. O. Hume, and Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji. A large number of members of Parliament, journalists and others have been invited to meet Mr. Chambers. We hope to publish in our issue of next week a report of the proceedings.

An Indian correspondent writes: "It is one of the drawbacks of Anglo-Indian administration that the administrators are unwilling to concede to the people of India any real share in the control of their own affairs; that bureaucratic rule is always praised by official apologists in this country; and that concessions to the people which are needed to improve the administration are cried down as a trespass on official preserves. Calcutta affords us one instance of this. By all accounts the town has been improved beyond recognition by the endeavours of the elected Commissioners within the last twenty-two years, and sanitary improvements have been effected which could only have been effected in a large city like Calcutta with the co-operation of the people. Yet the advocates of bureaucracy pass over all these improvements in silence; they pass over in silence the high testimony borne by successive rulers of Bengal to the devotion and earnestness of the elected Commissioners; and they dwell not on what the Commissioners have achieved, but on what they have failed to achieve. Because some further sanitary improvements are needed it is proposed, not to strengthen the hands of the elected Commissioners who have done so well in the past, but to treat them with insult and contempt, and to hand over all real power to a foreign body of twelve men. Popular institutions are an eyesore to officials.

"Poona affords us another instance. It is an old and thickly populated town, with small resources, and the sanitary improvements made were not as thorough as were needed. If the administration had been in the hands of officials entirely we should have heard nothing about it. But as the blame was supposed to lie with the elected Commissioners, the opportunity of having a fling at the people was too good to be lost. Surgeon-Major Barry brought a string of charges against the Poona administration ending with the moral that 'municipal government in its sanitary manifestations is a dire and shameless sham.' The late Mr. Rand praised Dr. Barry as one official praises another, and, speaking of Dr. Barry's reforms, wrote: 'The city is now cleaner than it ever has been within the memory of living man.' These Anglo-Indian administrators had their advocate in the *Times*, which praised bureaucratic rule and cried down popular administration in Poona. We always hear one side of the story in this country, not the other.

"Now the Poona Municipality has replied to Dr. Barry's charges, and of course the apologists of bureaucracy in this country will not mention a word about the reply. We learn from the *Mahratta* that the Municipality 'has answered the charges of Dr. Barry *seriatim*. The Municipality has proved to the hilt that many of Dr. Barry's charges are groundless,' and 'that the charges of dishonesty and corruption brought by Dr. Barry were' unfounded. The Municipality has further shown that it did effect all reforms that it could within its resources; that Dr. Barry was allowed a larger establishment by the Government than was ever under the command of the Municipality; and that with all these resources at his command Dr. Barry failed so to improve the town as to reduce the death-rate. We may not agree with all that the Municipality has said in their statement, but it is always a gain to hear both sides of the story. When officials act and officials speak, either in their reports or in inspired articles in English papers, there is small chance of our knowing the whole truth."

DR. W. A. HUNTER.

A GOOD friend has been lost to India by the death of Dr. Hunter, late M.P. for North Aberdeen, at the premature age of 53. Dr. Hunter died on July 21 at Cults, near his native town of Aberdeen. Some four years ago he was struck down with paralysis of one side, and though he recovered so far as to struggle on in some sort with his work he retired from Parliament fully two years ago, and remained an invalid till his death. His sad disablement and death have evoked wide sympathy and regret, which will be echoed from the heart in India.

At the age of twenty, Hunter graduated at the University of Aberdeen, the best general scholar of his year. Having gained two or three valuable post-graduate scholarships, he came up to London, and was called to the Bar at the Middle Temple in 1867. In his early years at the Bar he made many Indian friends who later rose to distinction—such as Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea, Mr. Lal Mohan Ghose, and the late Mr. Manomohan Ghose; and scores of later arrivals found him "guide, philosopher, and friend." Some he coached, some he counselled, not sparing severity or encouragement as they were needed; and to all he was helpful and friendly. To youths accustomed to the superior attitudes of Anglo-Indians, and thrown suddenly into such a strange and distracting environment, the touch of a friendly hand and the sound of a friendly voice must have been peculiarly grateful. Such kindliness he maintained for Indian students to the end, though the personal relation was gradually contracted to that of lecturer and student after he began to be immersed in public affairs.

Hunter never succeeded in getting into the stream of general law business; he was unfitted by temperament for the necessary diplomacy, and probably he shrank from the initial drudgery. Perhaps it was well, for his health would hardly have stood the strain. In the '80's, however, he did a considerable amount of important work as counsel in railway cases, on which branch of law he was an expert, and in cases before Parliamentary Committees. It was curious, when one considers his intimate relations with so many Indians, how rarely he appeared in cases before the Privy Council. But Hunter's real law work was of a far deeper and more permanent character. In 1869 he was made Professor of Roman Law at University College, and in 1879 he exchanged to the chair of jurisprudence, which he held till 1884. His large work on "Roman Law, in the Order of a Code," has remained for a quarter of a century beyond comparison the ablest book on the subject in England—a book of lucid exposition, acute criticism, and monumental labour. The great characters of it mark him, not as a scholar—for he was not, and never assumed to be, a scholar in the technical sense—but as a jurist, and a practical lawyer, and a teacher. From 1889 he held the post of Reader in Roman Law, Jurisprudence, and International Law to the Council of Legal Education, his lectures being distinguished by lucidity, comprehensiveness, and common sense. He was highly esteemed by his students. For many years also he examined in Roman law and jurisprudence in the University of London, and in the University of New Zealand. It was on the strength of his work in jurisprudence that Mr. Balfour generously granted him a Civil List pension on his retirement from active life.

At the general election of 1885, Dr. Hunter—for by this time his Alma Mater had conferred the degree of LL.D. upon him—was returned as M.P. for North Aberdeen, his native constituency, which he continued to hold easily by majorities of more than 3,000 over all opponents till his resignation in 1896. He was a convinced Radical in politics; and for several years he edited the *Weekly Dispatch*, a democratic London Sunday paper, though journalism never came easy to him. Strong Radical though he was, Dr. Hunter stood in utter contrast with a revolutionary; he diagnosed every case with a killing labour known only to his private friends, in order to discover the safest and most effective advance in the line of least resistance, and no popular clamour would move him a hairsbreadth from what he believed to be right principle. His Parliamentary work was mainly on home politics, especially on questions touching most nearly the every-day life of the people at large, for he was in every fibre a man of the people. His greatest single achievement was his proposal in 1889 which resulted in the establishment of free education in Scotland—a proposal worked out, as he himself frankly acknowledged, from a hint given by the investigations of another Scotch member, Mr. Caldwell. Another striking thing he did in the House has a special interest for Indians. When Mr. Bradlaugh was dying, and unable to move his persistent motion for expunging from the Journals of the House the old resolutions excluding him—a motion on carrying which he had set his heart, after the example of Wilkes—Dr. Hunter readily consented to move it for him. His success was complete, and it was understood to have been largely due to the delicacy and persuasiveness of his handling. Mr. Bradlaugh was much gratified when he heard that Dr. Hunter would move, and "turned contentedly to his rest," but he had fallen into final unconsciousness before the news arrived that the wrongful resolutions were formally expunged. On the whole, it may be doubted whether Dr. Hunter was not considerably handicapped in politics by his metaphysical, logical, and philosophical habit of mind, preternaturally sharpened by his old teacher and life-long friend, Professor Bain, for whom his admiration never wavered. He was excluded from office in Mr. Gladstone's last Government at the very last moment, owing to the supposed necessity of some personal rearrangement of places. So little does sterling ability and knowledge count in the formation of Ministries!

The very first speech Dr. Hunter made in the House was in moving an amendment to the Government's motion to defray the expenses of the military operations in Burma out of the Indian revenues (February 22, 1886.) One or two points, then and since of essential importance, will show Dr. Hunter's attitude:—

> In examining such a proposal, he said, it was impossible to exercise too scrupulous and exacting a care, for the House occupied a peculiarly delicate position in ascertaining whether the expense of the war ought to be paid by the people of India or the people of England. The people of India had no representative in that House to protect their interests; and there always was a danger that injustice might be done in matters of account between the two countries. Further, the relations between the English Government and the people of India had been compared to that between guardian and ward. There was some truth in the comparison; and, as there was nothing more dishonourable to a guardian than to charge upon the estate of his ward expenses incurred for his own personal ends, such conduct was peculiarly cruel and mean when the guardian was very rich and the ward was very poor. . . . . If the annexation was brought about by the Chambers of Commerce, and, as was undoubtedly the case, this was a war to open up new markets for British trade, for British interests, and not for Indian interests—if it was a war that was urged on by British merchants, and condemned by the people of India—then where was the justice or honour of imposing the expenses of the war upon the exchequer of India? What aggravated the war in the eyes of the Indian people was that in their estimation, at all events, there never was a war less necessary or an annexation less desirable.

Though Dr. Hunter seldom afterwards spoke on Indian questions—probably feeling that his strength might be more usefully spent on home affairs than by dashing his head against a brick wall—he often did very effective service by a question or an incidental remark. Thus when Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea was appointed to the Bengal Legislative Council, a high and dry Tory put a nasty question to the Under-Secretary (Feb. 16, 1894), "whether Surendra Nath Banerjea, a leading member of the Indian National Congress, was the same person who was dismissed from the Civil Service in 1874 after he had been tried by a Commission and been found guilty of making false entries." Mr. George Russell was obliged to admit that the facts were so. Whereupon Dr. Hunter quietly rose and put the case of his old friend and pupil right in a single contemptuous and trenchant sentence: "I wish to ask whether it is not a fact that the alleged false entries were made by the clerk; that they related entirely to the dates at which certain legal proceedings took place in his court; and whether the decision of that tribunal was not one which reflected more discredit on the tribunal than on the gentleman dismissed." An hour's speech could not have more effectively confounded the malicious insolence of the questioner.

In June, 1894, we had the pleasure of publishing in INDIA a remarkable article by Dr. Hunter, which practically sums up his conclusions on Indians and India. In point of intellectual and moral qualities he could discern no very conspicuous difference between Englishmen and Indians. But he was struck by one "most impressive" difference: "there is simply no comparison," he wrote, "between Englishmen and Hindus with respect to the place occupied by family interests and family affections in

their minds," and he thought it "far from certain that the advantage" in the family system "is wholly on the English side." His general position as to the political relation was thus expressed:—

The whole aim of British policy in India should be to prepare and fit the people of India for self-government; to lift India to the position of one of the series of self-governing colonies, like the colonies of Australia and Canada. If this country should persevere with that policy and achieve it, she will have rendered a service to humanity unequalled in the annals of mankind. In this task we shall have the hearty co-operation of the best part of India, and as English education spreads in India, and India is better understood in this country, there is no reason why, if we avoid the error of precipitate change on the one hand, and of bureaucratic obstinacy on the other, we should not, in the fulness of time, succeed.

How painful to-day is the existing contrast to these wise anticipations! But Dr. Hunter recognised "three dangers in our path":—

The first and most serious is the extreme costliness of the British Government. . . . Surely, then, the watchword of Indian finance should be economy, rigid economy, ever more and more economy.

The second great peril to our Indian Empire (it will surprise many excellent people when I say it) is the attempt to impose upon the Indian people our ideas of morality and religion. . . . To interfere with the religious or social habits of the Indian people is to carry a lighted torch into a gunpowder magazine.

The third peril to our Indian Empire arises from a cause of which Englishmen are little conscious, and there lies the danger—namely, an overbearing manner towards the people of India, especially towards persons in the higher ranks. . . . It is not too much to say that many Englishmen do as much as in them lies to make our Government hateful. The Government might do much to effect an improvement.

Nothing could be more lucid or more pointed than these remarks, in the spirit of which Dr. Hunter always unostentatiously acted. Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee undoubtedly expressed the general Indian feeling when he wrote privately the other day to a common friend of his and Dr. Hunter's: "If you write to the family, please give them my condolences. He was a great friend of India, and I am sure his death will be sincerely mourned by many of my countrymen, not only those who had the pleasure of knowing him personally, but also those who only knew him by reputation."

IN THE HOUSE OF THEIR FRIENDS.

THE wisest and most beneficent Government in the world might well hope that its merits would shield it from criticism. Lest, however, there should be wicked men who were blind to those merits it passed a new law of sedition effectively to muzzle the Press of the country; and in case some critics should find loop-holes of escape from that measure it had an answer ready for everyone—the Indians who raise objection to its policy or methods are disloyal, such Anglo-Indians as are outside the charmed circle of officialism are misinformed, and so one and all may be treated with contempt. But how are its hopes frustrated! In spite of all this a condemnation of the most trenchant character has been spread abroad throughout India, reported not in one but in every newspaper in the land, and uttered not by some ignorant outsider, but by an old and experienced civilian; not in some backstairs meeting of interlopers or Congress-wallahs, but in the very presence of the Viceroy himself. It may be safely said that no utterance has for many months so moved all sections of Indian society as the speech which Mr. Thorburn recently delivered at Simla.

The occasion was an address on "The Story of Tirah and the Lessons of the Campaign," delivered before the United Service Institution by Colonel Hutchinson. The lecture itself contained much that was worthy of attention, but however excellent it may have been it has been completely cast into the shade by what followed. At its conclusion the chairman called for discussion, and, no one else showing any desire to begin, Mr. Thorburn, Financial Commissioner of the Punjab, rose to make the speech which has made his name famous throughout India. His opening words must have given the eminent personages in the front rows an unpleasant anticipation of what was to follow:—

Speaking as a very old frontier officer, he claimed to know something of the ways of Pathans. He had watched the progress of the policy of expansion, which culminated last June, July, and August in a conflagration which extended from Peshawar to Kurram. The flimsy and inflammable jerry buildings which we had been running up then caught fire and were almost burned to the ground. The Indian fire brigade was summoned and the fire was put out, but not before 2,000 lives had been lost and necessitous India had been called upon to pay a bill of nearly two and a-half millions sterling.

It must have been still more unpleasant for them to hear him refer to August 23 of last year as "a day of pain, shame, and humiliation for the British dominion in India." But perhaps the most effective part of his speech was his declaration that the true cause of the outbreak was the fear that the Indian Government intended to annex the territory of the tribes and put an end to their freedom. On this point the speaker said:—

We demarcated the hinterland of our district and announced that all within that boundary was within the political frontier of India. Naturally the tribesmen thought it was the first step to annexation. This was the root cause of the trouble. (Hear, hear.) Last year he had asked representative Mahometans, Sikhs, and Hindus of the Rawal Pindi Division what they considered the cause of the frontier disturbances, and they almost without exception gave the same answer—the high-handedness and graspingness of the Government.

There were several other points with which Mr. Thorburn dealt. One of these was the great expense of these frontier wars, whence resulted "the long starvation of the civil administration of India." Another was the impressment of men and animals for transport—all the more terrible in the Punjab because carried out without any system. In certain districts, out of a hundred thousand beasts and twenty-five thousand owners impressed at hazard, only one-sixth or less were actually used. It is impossible to conceive any arrangement more fraught with danger to men or suffering to beasts. Again, the speaker found fault with Colonel Hutchinson for using the word "revolt." "The frontier tribes had never been subjugated or conquered, and for a revolt there must have been previous subjugation. They were nearly as free as in the time of Alexander, 2,300 years ago." The Indian Government has a profound respect for the maxim, "Give a dog a bad name, and hang him." Such epithets as disloyal and seditious are freely used to describe those Indians who venture on even the most temperate opposition. It is not therefore surprising that they speak of the warfare of these free tribes as a revolt; but it is very absurd. The *Pioneer* thus ends its description of Mr. Thorburn's speech:—

In conclusion, Mr. Thorburn urged that persistence in our policy of expansion was intolerable to the frontier tribes, and impracticable for necessitous India, because of its ruinous expense and utter hopelessness of finality. He resumed his seat amid loud applause, in which, however, a certain number of officials present naturally refrained from joining.

So much for the attack, which, when the man, the place, and the company are considered, is as courageous and notable a contribution to the discussion of Indian affairs as has been heard for many a long day. It was now the time for defence, and Sir James Westland at once rose and delivered a speech which for mingled ineptitude and pettiness it would be hard to surpass. His very first sentence was at once an indication of the way in which the Indian Government meets all criticism and an unintentional acknowledgment of the real feeling of the meeting. "He began by saying that when he heard the applause which greeted the last speaker's remarks he hardly believed he could be in Simla. He thought he must be attending a meeting of the National Congress." He ended, after a declaration of the Amír's good faith, by falling back on the usual resource of Indian officials under criticism—remarks on the ignorance of their critics. But it was in his attempt to cover the abandonment of the Khyber that the pettiness of which he is capable may be seen. He was not ashamed to fall back on the flimsy plea that the Khyber Rifles were not in our service. Mr. Thorburn had recalled how the greater part of these men had remained true to us even against their kinsmen, how they were sure to be overwhelmed unless supported, and how they were overwhelmed. Sir James made answer, "It was no pain or humiliation to withdraw a British officer twenty miles away from the nearest military post. The Khyber Rifles were not soldiers of the British army. They represented the Afridi force and not the British force. That made all the difference." On this the *Times of India* comments as follows:—

For a statesman who is credited with some talent, if no great knowledge of frontier affairs, and speaking as the mouthpiece of the Government, to deliberately declare that the reason for abandoning the Khyber Pass was because the Khyber Rifles who garrisoned the posts did not belong to the Indian army, is to admit a class of argument which may be treated with the serenest contempt. The Khyber Rifles are as much in our pay and service as are the Kurram Militia, or, for that matter, any regular regiment of the Native army. . . . To leave them therefore unsupported to their fate in the Khyber post

was as great a military and political crime as to have abandoned in the same position a regiment of the Frontier Force.

We wonder what Lord George Hamilton, who is so great a stickler for the fair fame of the servants of the Government, thinks of Sir James Westland's treatment of the many men of the Khyber Rifles who, when abandoned by their leaders, still remained true to their pledges, even against those of their own tribe.

That the professed opponents of a Government find fault with its policy may not amount to much. Even when the impartial condemn it there is room for doubt as to the extent of its fault. But when those who are bound by every tie to support it turn against it, when those who are its firmest friends join in the condemnation, then its case is desperate indeed. Mr. Thorburn was a public servant, speaking in the presence of his official superiors; the audience that applauded him was a Simla audience drawn from the classes least ready to find fault with the powers that be; and the Anglo-Indian Press which has so enthusiastically endorsed his remarks may in general be described as more governmental than the Government. In their policy beyond the North-West frontier the rulers of India have reached a point where even those who by all their traditions are most ready to see good in all their rulers do, find it impossible to follow them; and the meeting at Simla will be memorable for showing this decisively to the world. We have long known that the Indians and the Indian Press have repudiated the forward policy. It is now evident that the weight of Anglo-Indian opinion is on the same side. The *Pioneer*, the *Madras Mail*, the *Bombay Gazette* enthusiastically applaud Mr. Thorburn. The *Englishman*, though more cautiously, takes the same view. In fact, the tide runs so strongly that even the *Times of India*, which has all along been the chief supporter of the Government policy, gives its leaders but scant consolation. The great organ of the "forwards" praises Mr. Thorburn's courage, and says that "the sympathies of the great audience present, composed chiefly of the *élite* of Simla, were undoubtedly with the sentiments of the speaker." Worse still, it says that "as the Government champion, Sir James Westland next took the floor, but his defence of the Government policy was singularly tame and halting." Thus feebly supported by their allies, abandoned by those who are generally their warmest defenders, and denounced by the great mass of the people whether Anglo-Indian or Indian, the rulers of India find themselves in a most unenviable position, the natural result of a policy evil in its conception, inefficient in its execution, and disastrous in its ultimate results—a policy which has settled nothing, for we still hear reports of disturbance on the frontier, and which, if it be persisted in, cannot fail to ruin the finances of India and to affect for ill the whole future of the country.

THE "PRESS COMMITTEES."

NOTWITHSTANDING all the explanation and the speculation devoted to the subject of those new portents of Indian journalism, the "Press Committees," it can hardly be yet said that their origin, object, nature, and operation have quite emerged from obscurity. The authorities, under the baleful influence of ignorance-born panic, threw the Vernacular Press into the new-forged chains of the Sedition Acts. But their unnatural activity has not been satisfied. They have devised these Press Committees to supplement the terrors of the law. They, in point of fact, have set up deputies to stand over the editorial desk bludgeon in hand. The suavity of paternal care does not disguise the hostile intention; not an editor, nor anybody else, but sees through the preposterous veil devised to cover the implements of coercion and repression. "They are a veiled instrument," says the *Bengalee* of Calcutta, "devised by an ingenious Government for controlling the Press." The *Indu-Prakash*, which traces the origin of these gagging arrangements to a remark of the Chief Justice of Bombay on the Modavritta trial, may be taken to speak for its fellows:—

> Is there any doubt that it is an attempt on the part of Government to coat with sugar the bitter pill which it is determined to force down the throat of the Indian Press—to show the world that, in taking any particular paper to task on occasions, it is guided, not by its own whim or fancy, but by the deliberate opinion of a fully representative Committee? Is this compatible with the freedom of the Press? And how is any public man with any self-respect to serve on the Committee?

Just so; and yet Lord George Hamilton calmly assures the House of Commons that there can be no such thing legally in India as a censorship of the Press. The Committee is there in due form, and Lord George can readily impress the House with its representative character, yet everybody, except the British public, knows that the Committee neither is nor can possibly be representative, and that in no case can it be other than a menace and a gag—that is to say, an artificial device doing the work which the Secretary of State acknowledges cannot be done formally within the corners of the existing law, stringent and oppressive as that law has been made. The authorities themselves set the example of contempt for legality. Let them not be surprised if the Indian editors better their instruction.

The Government is said to be appointing Press Committees "in all districts," and presumably this implies all districts at least within Bombay jurisdiction. The main interest, however, has hitherto centred in the Poona Committee. We have already (July 8) published Mr. Lamb's explanation of the scope and object of this Committee. Mr. Lamb has expressly stated the grounds of the action of the authorities. "Government," he said, "considered that the weekly abstract compiled by the reporter on the Native Press was lacking both in the rapidity and the closeness of scrutiny which it deemed desirable." This official, then, presumably slept some eight hours a day. To an ordinary business intelligence it might have occurred that the reporter might be wakened up, or might be supplied with the assistance of an office boy, or might be reinforced by a colleague or two. But of course the reason is a transparent sham. The District Magistrate, apparently, is unable to scan the papers with his own eye—an allegation that would seem to stand in need of some explanation; and hence the Committee. "The duty of the Committee is to bring to the notice of the District Magistrate anything appearing in any newspaper published in the District, which in the opinion of the Committee is deserving of the attention of the District Magistrate." Of course, one fails to see how the Magistrate can do his duty with any satisfaction or success unless he knows what is going on in his District. But equally does one fail to see how he can safely depend upon the chance selections of extracts culled for him by a Committee that looks at the columns with very different eyes from his, and with objects that must be very much more limited. The Committee is predominantly official. The non-official members are mere tools. But the Committee is not confined in its operations to the duty of informing the mind of the Magistrate; it "is available for use, if the District Magistrate thinks fit, as an intermediary between himself and the Press of his district." But why all this elaborate apparatus? Under the new Criminal Procedure Code, the magistrate can save much trouble by summarily requiring an editor to furnish security, by sending him to gaol with hard labour. It is not necessary, under this beneficent Government, that the editor should first be found guilty of "disaffection," or indeed of any specific offence whatsoever. Perhaps the Government has a certain suspicion that this hard law is rather too brittle to be much used in practice; but the dry-nursing process will scarcely conciliate a filial gratitude.

One ostensible object of the recent coercive legislation was to reduce the exacerbation of racial feeling, the rousing of enmity "between different classes of her Majesty's subjects." This is a most laudable object, certainly. But why, in that case, did the Government not begin with the Anglo-Indian Press, which unhappily furnishes the worst offenders? Nay, the Secretary of State himself may thank his stars that he is on this side of the black water and that his skin is white, for what vernacular editor in our times has said anything so likely to rouse enmity "between different classes of her Majesty's subjects" as Lord George Hamilton's remarks about India as "a savage foreign country"? The Travancore *Spectator* justly expresses the opinion that, "if Lord Sandhurst wants a Committee to advise on any matter, it is as to how he should beware of evil advisers." The *Times of India* even has gone against the Government, and condemned the appointment of these obnoxious and absurd Committees. "The inquisitorial character which, of necessity, must attach to such a Committee," says the *Times of India*, "will make it unpopular, and, in our opinion, deservedly so." "The fact is," the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* observes, "the Bombay Government have clean forgotten one simple

though important matter: it is that an alien country cannot be properly governed without a free Press." We have pointed out, *ad nauseam*, how utterly hopeless it is for Government to know what is going on when it seals up hermetically the spontaneous expression of Indian commentary on public events. It is not necessary to take every comment as gospel; but every comment is, all the same, a beat of the pulse, not to be neglected by the wise physician. As we have already said, the new regulations are solely effective for the manufacture of hypocrisy and flattery: witness the humiliating extract we recently exhibited from the *Hindustani* of Lucknow. The results are humiliating, however, not chiefly for the wretched papers themselves, but for the British Government of India. This terrorism of the Press signalises the zenith of a rule of pure force—a rule doomed by its distinctive quality to eventual downfall and disgrace.

Let anyone, for a moment, take home to himself the meaning of this infatuated policy. Suppose, if the imagination were equal to the strain, the *Times*, the *Manchester Guardian*, the *Bradford Observer*, subject to local Press Committees of the Poona character. Fancy the editor "standing in the dock" before the local magistrate! Fancy a British paper dependent on a local magistrate for its "true" information on public affairs, and the editor liable at any moment to be required to give security for good behaviour or to be lodged arbitrarily in prison. The idea is ridiculous in the extreme. Why? Simply because we are free men, and Ministers dare not trifle with our freedom. In India "freedom" is another sort of thing; Government does as it thinks fit. True, the Indian editors are taking these Press Committees in the right way—treating them with ridicule. The editor of the *Mahratta*, who says he felt that he "was standing in the dock" before Mr. Lamb, has yet openly covered with ridicule the whole of the preposterous interview. The *Shri Sayaji Vijaya* of Baroda politely remarks that "the Native Press seems just now to be under the special care of the Government, which is doing its best to improve the tone and morality of the Native journals." It is "a noble purpose"; it displays the fact that the Sedition Acts "have not exhausted the zeal to do good." The *Hindu* of Madras thinks "the idea of the members of the Committee reading newspapers by rotation is delightful." It sketches a course of study—"very varied reading"—for a committeeman; and encourages him with further hope that "in the end, if he do not get mad, he may get a Rao Bahadurship." If our officials were endowed with but a glimmer of imagination, such comments might well be held to have given the *coup de grâce* to this ill-omened futility of "statesmanship" in panic. But behind these grimaces lies an intense force of distrust, supported by a thoroughly just sense of insult and degradation. For the moment, the Indian Government may triumph, and Lord George Hamilton may similarly assure his constituents and the country that there is an end of sedition. But as sure as there shines a sun of justice somewhere in the moral heavens, there is preparing silently a great day of reckoning and of judgment.

HAS THE CORPORATION OF CALCUTTA DESERVED EXTINCTION?

By E. H. Pickersgill, M.P.

Mr. Dutt has already drawn attention in the columns of India to the eloquent and powerful defence of the Municipal Commissioners of Calcutta, delivered in the Bengal Council a month or two ago by the Hon. Surendra Nath Banerjea, who spoke with an inner knowledge of the Corporation derived from an experience extending over a quarter of a century. This testimony is invaluable, and if I presume to intervene, it is only because it often happens that, as a kind of complement to an esoteric view of a controversy, the conclusions of an observer at a distance have a certain value. I may claim at least that I have had considerable experience of the working of municipal authorities in England, and that in the course of that experience I have observed the occasional weakness and shortcomings of such institutions in this country. Being firmly convinced, however, that the balance of advantage overwhelmingly preponderates in favour of self-government in local affairs, I have watched with keen interest the development of this principle in India, and I have noticed with much pleasure the favourable opinions upon its working which have from time to time been expressed in official reports. Hence the present proposal, virtually to destroy municipal self-government in the metropolis of India, comes as a most unpleasant surprise: and one naturally asks what case has been made out for so drastic and reactionary a course, suddenly sprung upon the country.

Before I proceed further, it may be well to point out that the Municipality of Calcutta does not rest even at present upon what we in England should consider to be a popular franchise. Calcutta, with its enlarged boundaries, contains a population of nearly 750,000, whereas the number of municipal voters on the register is only 11,664. This contrasts unfavourably with other towns in Bengal, in some of which the voters number over 30 per cent. of the municipal population. In Calcutta ratepayers who pay rates to the amount of Rx. 2·4 per annum are alone entitled to vote. And as I find that on the annual value of assessable property the rates now fall in the proportion of 19½ per cent., it would seem to follow that the municipal franchise is not enjoyed by any below the class which *we* might call, speaking of course very roughly, "twelve pound householders." I may add that plural voting is allowed, the 11,664 voters having thus a voting power of 46,402. It is interesting to compare the extent to which the right of the electoral franchise is exercised by those who possess it in England and in India respectively. At a general election to the Calcutta Municipality in March, 1895, there were contests in 15 wards, out of a total of 25; and in these 15 wards 70 per cent. of the registered electors recorded their votes, as compared with 53 per cent. and 42 per cent. at the two previous general elections. These figures indicate a greater interest than is displayed in most London constituencies at elections to the County Council. It appears that in Calcutta the Mussulmans are the keenest in the exercise of their electoral rights, and that the Europeans and the Eurasians are the most negligent. As it is stated in an official report that the *cost* has been a stumbling block to the Municipality of Calcutta in the way of carrying out some urgent improvements, it may be desirable to cast a glance upon the financial position of the city. As regards the incidence of taxation per head, Calcutta occupies a middle position between Madras and Bombay. Expressed in rupees and fractions of a rupee, the taxation per head in 1891 was 1·94 in the City of Madras, 5·75 in Calcutta, and 6·29 in the City of Bombay. I may point out, however, that during the preceding decade the taxation per head nearly doubled in Bombay, advancing from 3·52 to 6·29, whereas in Calcutta it fell slightly, namely from 5·97 to 5·75. It is of course impossible for me to express an opinion of any value on the question whether the limit of the taxable capacity of the ratepayers of Calcutta has been reached. It must suffice to state that the total debt of the Municipality is Rx. 2,386,000, whereas the annual revenue is about Rx. 450,000. I should estimate that the outstanding debt is about 1⅓ times the annual value of the assessable property of the city. It may be stated (by way of comparison, for what it may be worth) that in 1891 the purely urban districts of England and Wales, with a rateable value of £99,000,000, had an outstanding debt of £153,000,000. I may add that the integrity of the Calcutta Municipality has never been called in question. The Commission of 1884, while it complained that the expenditure on the cleansing and conservancy of the city had not been on a scale commensurate with its requirements, "gave credit to the Municipality for their control of the finances entrusted to them."

The inception of the present movement against the Corporation of Calcutta may be placed in 1895. In that year the health of the city was very unsatisfactory. The death-rate rose to 39·6 per thousand, and this increased mortality, mainly arising in respect of fevers, was attributed by the Health Officer solely to the bad condition of the drains, and to the insanitary state of dwelling houses. But the Chairman of the Commissioners very pertinently pointed out that there had also been a corresponding rise in the death-rate from fevers in other parts of Bengal; and he argued, therefore, that it was only reasonable to attribute the increased mortality, in part at least, to some other cause of a general character, applicable alike to Calcutta and the country around, rather than to any local peculiarities. It may be added that the price of food in Calcutta was higher in 1895 than the average of the previous nine years;

that of common rice was more than a third above the nine years' average. The price of meat, fruit, fish, and vegetables was also higher. These circumstances could not but unfavourably influence the health of the poorer classes, who form a large proportion of every Indian town population. To these suggestions, to which due weight should be given, I venture to add another consideration of wider scope. The *Pioneer Mail* showed last year, taking eight municipalities in different parts of India, that whereas the death-rate prior to the introduction of sanitary works averaged 30·5 per thousand, it has since risen to 32·8 per thousand. The *Pioneer* suggested that this result is due to an incongruity between Indian conditions and the resources of European civilisation, which are sometimes inconsiderately introduced, perhaps under English official pressure. Sometimes, it was stated, a system which prevails in Europe and succeeds there is introduced into India without the necessary adaptation of the surrounding conditions; the municipality stops halfway, owing it may be to the inadequacy of its financial resources; and thus the last state of the town is worse than the first. Calcutta itself furnishes an illustration bearing upon this general proposition. Calcutta lies in a dead level, so that its drainage is a matter of the utmost expense and trouble. A considerable part of its area is water-logged and sewage-logged. Now, a few years ago the Municipality, at vast expense, provided the city with a new water supply which averages 36 gallons of filtered water per head per diem, not to mention about 10 gallons per head of unfiltered water for washing and household purposes. It is obvious that here there must be enormous waste. But proper provision for the removal of the waste water has not been made; and thus without doubt the undrained and water-logged condition of the suburbs of Calcutta has been aggravated by the introduction of a public water supply, practically unlimited, without adequate provision for the removal of the waste water.

In forming a judgment on the Calcutta Municipality ample allowance must in fairness be made for the inherent difficulties of the problems which they have to solve. Calcutta is an administrative charge of an exceptional character. In the matter of drainage it has to struggle against nature. In these circumstances ample consideration, involving it may be considerable delay, before embarking upon a vast expenditure, may be not merely excusable, but really meritorious. At all events the policy of the Municipality as regards drainage has found defenders in the Army Sanitary Commission, who report as follows:

> Although with the object of forcibly calling attention to the injurious consequences of the defects in the drainage and sewage of the town they may have been somewhat overdrawn by the Health Officer, it is certain that these defects exist, and that their removal is a question of urgent importance. *Of this the Commissioners appear to be convinced*, although they have *wisely determined not hastily to undertake vast and costly schemes*, such as those for improving the main-sewer outfall, until the question has been thoroughly considered and settled by their engineers. With the advice of such men as Kimber, Hughes, and Baldwin Latham to guide them the chance of mistakes being made should be small indeed.

Again, loud complaint has been made that the Municipality has not proceeded more rapidly in filling up the tanks, which form a special feature of the physical topography of Calcutta, and of which the Health Officer in his report for 1895 gives an unpleasantly graphic description. Some districts, he says, are so honeycombed with these tanks that during the rainy season they comprise actually a larger area of water than of land; and the majority of the tanks, he adds, are the drainage cesspools of the locality. This may be so; but they are also convenient receptacles into which the surface water of the locality may drain; and it seems to me, judging from the experience of Bombay which is related in the same Blue-book, that until a new and adequate system of drainage is provided more harm than good might result in many cases from inconsiderately filling up these tanks. It may be that in this respect, as in many others, the Indians know their own business better than their Western instructors.

I now come to the last charge against the Municipality which I shall mention, namely, the continuance of the insanitary horrors of the dwelling houses or *bastees*. In the first place, however, it may be well to point out that the official reports up to a recent date have borne witness to the steady progress made in dealing with these evils. For instance, the Decennial Report, issued in 1894, states as follows: "The improvement of the collection of huts, known as basti, has been carried on fairly rapidly during the ten years with which we are concerned." The official reports for the years 1895 and 1896 respectively contain statements to a similar effect.

The Health Officer has, however, called attention to what seems to me a very serious matter. He has pointed out that "in place of the bamboo and mud huts with tiled roofs, the bastee sites are being covered with brick buildings of several stories in height, and with no wider passages between them than those which formerly ran between the one-storied huts. In Calcutta, every man builds his house according to his own taste, without reference to roads, and hence as the city develops more unhealthy areas are being erected every year." It is evident from this description that the *bastees* are giving place to what will in due course become slums and rookeries. This is, as I have said, a very serious matter; but, after all, it is exactly what went on in London prior to the London Building Act, 1894. Notwithstanding the popular impulse at the back of that progressive body, the London County Council, a remedy was not applied until six years had elapsed. If the Calcutta Municipality has displayed in this matter an excessive and unreasonable regard for the supposed rights of property, as I think it certainly has done, it occurs to me as a Radical that an effective remedy might be found in lowering the municipal franchise in Calcutta. If, however, this should be considered to be too *English* a remedy, I can suggest another, which even official personages could hardly deny to be practicable. I agree that it is absurd that the metropolis of India should be permitted to be built up anew without the slightest attempt to follow the ordinary canons of sanitary law. If, therefore, the Government of Lord Elgin had proposed to pass a fair and reasonable Building Act for Calcutta, applicable to all future buildings, and had insisted that the municipality should put the Act into operation, I, for one, should have applauded their policy. But upon such grounds as those alleged to destroy local self-government altogether is a monstrous non-sequitur. I am afraid it must be said that here we have yet another illustration of the unstatesmanlike impatience and the panic-stricken haste which have been exhibited in nearly every department of the action of the Indian Government during Lord Elgin's administration.

"VERSES FOR THE HOUR."[1]

THIS is but a small pamphlet of verses, but it is charged with distress over the present and with anxiety as to the future of the author's country. The poetical quality is, indeed, somewhat meagre; yet much more is suggested than the author is able to express in a language not his own. One feels that it is the imperfectly articulate cry of a strong man oppressed by what he sees around him, yet hoping to the last in the sanity of British statesmen, or at any rate of the British people. He is all but hopeless of his immediate British rulers.

> Farewell and welcome are on courtiers' lips;
> The people's honest heart the while
> Nor heaves nor thrills in answering sympathy
> With their feigned sigh or artful smile.
> The People? Who are they? O silent voice!
> Because so silent, little known;
> Your labour feeds the land, sustains the State,
> Tho' penury is all your own!

He laments that "Mistrust is sowing seeds of future ills."

> Harsh thoughts, unworthy of great England's sons,
> And stern repression, favour find;
> Alas! that Freedom's heirs should fetters forge
> For India's limbs and India's mind!

Looking back, he eulogises Bentinck, Elphinstone, Grant, and Canning:

> Tho' dead, they live enthroned in Indian hearts,
> Heirs of an ever-broadening fame.

These men "put love's golden girdle round the land, and won men's love by loving deeds," being

> Strong with the strength of Justice, Mercy, Grace,
> And human Sympathy supreme.

He looks forward, catching at hope, and thus addresses a new Viceroy:

> Which wilt thou choose? Art thou for swords and bonds,
> For government by threat and frown,
> Or for a human-hearted reign benign,
> The people's weal thy brightest crown?

[1] "Verses for the Hour." By Ram Sharma. Howrah: S. N. Bhattacharjee (printer).

The last must be the wiser, manlier choice
Of a far-seeing, noble mind;
So be it thine, that so in bonds of love
Thou mayst all classes strongly bind.

Such aspiration is pathetic, especially in view of the character that British statesmen and officials claim for their rule in India. Why is it that they are so densely incapable of looking at the situation from the side of the ruled—an incapability that is surely the very antithesis to the genius for Government? The officials and their abettors run down education; our author, with all intelligent Indians and Britons, yearns for "more light." There is no disloyalty, no desire to overthrow the British sovereignty; the whole of the unrest arises from the mistaken and unsympathetic action of particular officials. Thus:—

Light—light—more light the masses sadly need
Their minds t'illume, their homes to cheer;
Ignorant—half-starved, is it strange they yield
To dire disease or sudden fear?
'Tis not Achilles so much, as his fierce
Myrmidons that the people dread,
As likely, in their over-zeal, to make
Fair cities—cities of the dead.

While calling on his countrymen to display their loyal spirit and stand by their rulers, the writer makes a not unworthy appeal to England:—

Misjudge not India for this sad unrest!
Her heart is loyal to the very core—
Devoutly loyal as it was before—
To thee, her Island Mistress in the West.
Ev'n as a child, amid its sobs and frets,
All fondly clingeth to its mother's breast;
So India clings to thee,—her haven of rest,
'Mid all her troubles, all her deep regrets.
Remember all that she has bravely borne,—
Her matchless sorrows—agonising state;
Oh, treat her not in anger or in hate,
But kindly, for her heart is rudely torn!
Lo! crushed—all bleeding—prostrate there she lies!
Oh, gently raise her—dry her weeping eyes!
This land, which once was Heav'n's peculiar care,
Where customs, rituals hoar with age have grown—
Will she them change for others strange—unknown,
Ev'n for the sake of life, thro' transient fear?
Why let her be the theorist's hunting-ground?
Will panic patents drive the Plague away?
Remember, Science, like a flirt, one day
Claspeth facts, which the next may see disown'd!
Ind fears not death, come in what shape it may,
O England! she but asks this boon of thee:—
In thy attempts to mend her destiny,
Let kindly sympathy have fullest play.
Respect her ancient creeds, her *Parda* spare,
And cheerfully thy yoke will India bear!

An appeal "To the Men of India" follows, and there are appreciative verses "In Memoriam" of Mr. Gladstone. This bruised reed, surely, is not to be broken. The verses are exceedingly suggestive, and undoubtedly representative of instructed opinion. We trust they will find an echo here.

OUR LONDON LETTER.

(FROM A PARLIAMENTARY CORRESPONDENT.)

THE Reading election cannot be described accurately as an incident in Parliament, but it has a very close connexion with Parliament, and it affords a striking comment upon the chief topic of my letter last week. That topic was the Government's panic about compulsory vaccination, and the Reading election, by the consent of all politicians, turned on that subject and little else. The Liberal candidate was against compulsory vaccination from the first. The Conservatives had an agile and obliging gentleman who was prepared to jump whichever way the cat jumped. But in spite of his readiness to oblige the electors did not return him. The victory of the Liberal by a large majority will give a great impetus to the cause of anti-compulsory vaccination, for directly members of Parliament recognise that in that way lie votes they will take up the cause with rapture.

The House of Lords have had two long sittings in connexion with the Irish Local Government Bill, one on Thursday, when their lordships sat until nearly half-past eight, and the other on Monday, when they actually kept the debate going until half-past eleven. It is seldom indeed that the noble lords can face the ordeal of sitting beyond the dinner hour. But in this case their pockets are appealed to. On Thursday the debate was on the second reading of the Bill, and I was amused to observe peer after peer get up and with much noble head-wagging allude to this dangerous experiment, this leap in the dark, this serious and subversive democratic departure. They made it so very evident that members of their own class scarcely expect places on the new councils in Ireland. And they sang the dirge of the grand juror with infinite pathos. As most of them have been grand jurors, their tributes to them were, though handsome, of that type of praise which is said to be no recommendation. Lord Dunraven declared that the landed gentlemen of Ireland had a finer record than any other class in the world. I wonder he did not add "except the South-American slave-owners." And Lord Londonderry girded at the Bill with a noisy and bullying fervour all his own, threatening all sorts of amendments on the following Monday. Lord Salisbury sat still, apparently half amused and half indifferent. The Duke of Devonshire, having been entrusted with the task of replying, made magnificent efforts to keep awake with more than usual success. His reply consisted of a yawning expression of hope that their lordships would not by their amendments take away in reality what they professed to give.

When Monday came the noble lords turned their attention to those amendments. The Government was defeated early in the proceedings, but on so trivial a point as to make the affair ludicrous. Lord Morris wanted his pet town Galway to be added to the list of the six county boroughs scheduled in the Bill. It has 17,000 inhabitants, and the Government had fixed the limit at 20,000. In spite of the Government's opposition the amendment was carried by sixty-seven to sixty-two, and Lord Morris looked so triumphant that everybody laughed. A more important point, carried more or less against the Government, was an amendment by Lord Clonbrock. The Bill provides for one councillor to be elected to the district council for each electoral division. Lord Clonbrock proposed to make it two councillors, and he carried his point by seventy-eight to fifteen, most of the Government abstaining from voting. The object of this amendment is to increase the opportunities for the landed classes to get a place in the new councils, and I believe this amendment will be strenuously resisted in the Commons when the Lords' amendments come back for consideration. Perhaps the most insidious attempt against the Bill came from Lord Londonderry, who wanted to limit the expenditure of the new councils to twenty-five per cent. more than that of the old authorities. His object was to starve the new bodies and make the experiment in local government a failure. His amendment was negatived. There was also an attempt by the Liberals, eloquently supported by the Lord Chief Justice, to allow ministers of religion to have seats on the new bodies. The Government stood by the Bill and the attempt failed.

The Commons have been having some dreadfully late sittings, though the business done has not been important enough to merit much record. A further stubborn but unsuccessful fight took place in connexion with the Evidence in Criminal Cases Bill. The amendments were all aimed at confining the Bill to the higher courts—the point at issue I have explained in a previous letter—and the attempt failed. But by far the most important business in the Commons was taken on Friday night, when Mr. Goschen explained his supplementary naval programme. It will be sufficient to say here that he asks for another eight millions, and this, added to the seven already asked for, makes a total of fifteen millions for the navy. Mr. Goschen stated repeatedly that it is necessary for us to keep our navy equal to the navies of any two other Powers united. He made no secret of the fact that his new requirements have been made "necessary" by the action of Russia. I noticed in the debate that few members, indeed I think only Mr. Labouchere, spoke against a further increase of the navy. But there were many spirited protests against the extraordinary manner in which the Government is getting permission to spend this huge sum. Mr. Goschen held that the House had given him the necessary Parliamentary sanction then and there, though he will bring forward his requirements again next year as a supplementary estimate. Any discussion then must of course be an utter farce, as the contracts will have been given out. When questioned about this Mr. Goschen declared that the Government would have been only too glad to submit a supplementary estimate

right away. An inquisitive member called out "Why don't you?" and the First Lord of the Admiralty actually replied, "Because we don't know whether we shall spend the money or not. That is our simple answer." It is a simple answer assuredly. For the House was asked to hand over eight millions to the Admiralty to spend or not as they like. Now when did you ever hear of a department ever returning money so obtained? In spite of there being practically no opposition to this enormous extra expenditure on the navy, I know that many members look with alarm on this awful game of beggar-your-neighbour which is being played by the European Powers. For apparently directly any Power increases its navy, we must do so also, almost automatically. Where it will end who can say? And there is something almost sickening in the readiness of members to vote million after million with a light heart and with scarcely a question, and yet to grudge money to India—nay, to make India out of the pockets of her starving poor pay money that this country has wasted in costly, criminal and crazy expeditions for the sole benefit of England.

A rather amusing interlude came at the beginning of business on Tuesday. A body known as the Mullingar Board of Guardians has come into collision with the House of Commons on a matter of privilege. The incidents are unspeakably squalid and tawdry. Mr. Hayden, the member for South Roscommon, recently made a speech in the House in favour of the Government proposal to exclude ministers of religion from the newly-elected councils in Ireland. The Mullingar Board of Guardians denounced this speech as being "vile" and "anti-clerical." That could hurt no one, of course, but it happens that Mr. Hayden owns a paper in Mullingar, and this strange Board therefore resolved to deprive that paper of such advertisements as it receives from the Board, and, awful fate, to exclude Mr. Hayden and his reporters from their deliberations! This threat to punish a man for opinions expressed in the House was held, rightly I dare say, to be a breach of privilege, but whether the House will take further steps or not I don't know. It would be worth something to see the Guardians of Mullingar standing at the Bar of the House. If controversy is prolonged, I doubt not that the guardians will win, for somehow or other the House always comes off second best in "privilege" disputes.

CHRONICLE OF THE WEEK.

THURSDAY, July 21.—Prospects of peace were again put in the background for the moment by news from Madrid that the Government were still deliberating as to whether negotiations should be opened. Their indecision was, however, causing discontent and impatience.—Arrangements were made with a Spanish steamship company for shipping the Santiago prisoners back to Spain. Garcia, the Cuban leader in Eastern Cuba, had decided to part company with the Americans and conduct a campaign on his own account.—The news from Manila suggested that the Spaniards would soon be forced to capitulate there also.

Russia still kept up her demand at Peking that the railway loan should only be made by the Hong-kong and Shanghai Bank on condition that the line be not mortgaged as security. The Chinese were now informed that if the bank did not agree to this Russia would find the money.

The Gladstone Memorial Committee met at Grosvenor House to-day and decided to appeal to the public for funds to erect monuments in the three capitals of the United Kingdom and a new library at St. Deiniol's Hostel, Hawarden. Sir William Harcourt said he hoped that "frockcoat statues" would not be put up, but Sir John Mowbray pleaded for a representation of Mr. Gladstone in the dress he wore, not in a Roman toga or in anything that sacrificed truth to picturesqueness.

FRIDAY, July 22.—It was stated that M. Pavloff not only objected to the employment of British naval officers on Chinese ships, but demanded that all army instructors should also be Russian.

Mr. Wintringham, a local candidate, was selected by the Grimsby Liberal Association to oppose Mr. Doughty.

The South Wales Miners' Provisional Committee met Sir Edward Fry in conference at Cardiff, and decided to abandon the attempt to settle the dispute by mediation. Sir Edward Fry, though he recognised that he could do nothing at present in his capacity of conciliator, promised to be ready to make a further effort if a more favourable opportunity should arise.

The first light railway planned under the Act of 1896 was that between Basingstoke and Alton, and to-day the first sod of the line was cut by the President of the Board of Trade. Mr. Ritchie mentioned that the applications for power to make such lines were very numerous. Up to the present they numbered 121.

SATURDAY, July 23.—The Duke of Westminster, writing on behalf of the Gladstone Memorial Committee, appealed for contributions to the National Memorial Fund, which was to be expended upon monuments in London, Edinburgh, and Dublin, and upon a new library at St. Deiniol's Hostel, Hawarden.

The Duke of Devonshire, presenting prizes at Eastbourne College, spoke of the advantages of public school education nowadays, and of the inducements to gain knowledge which modern conditions of life put before every one. England, he said, offered a wide field for the energies of young men, or, if they wished for an even ampler space, the whole of the empire was open to them—that empire of which they intended to hold every part firmly as an outlet for the energy and intelligence of their population.

Sir Martin Gosselin was appointed as additional Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

Mr. Hooley's affairs, according to a statement drawn up by himself under the receiving order made against him, showed an aggregate deficiency of £32,000, though there were other large claims not taken into account because he declined to recognise them. The gross liabilities amounted to a million and a-half, but sums which made up more than two-thirds of this total were either secured or not expected to rank for dividend. The Official Receiver in his remarks referred to the payments for commission connected with Mr. Hooley's company promotions, and said they would require strict investigation.

SUNDAY, July 24.—In confirmation of the statement as to the President's view that a descent upon Spain should only be made in the last resort, there was now a report that the sailing of Commodore Watson's squadron was indefinitely postponed. From Madrid came news which put the prospects of peace in a more favourable light. The Spanish Government were believed to regard this as a favourable moment for opening negotiations, since no warlike operations were actually in hand. It was thought that they might approach the United States Executive through the French Embassy in Washington, no direct channel of diplomatic intercourse being open.

It was reported that the Turkish military governor of Crete had resigned in consequence of the refusal of the Powers to allow Turkish troops to land in the island. He considered that it would be "derogatory to his dignity" to retain his post in these circumstances.

MONDAY, July 25.—Polling at Reading resulted in a victory for the Liberal party. Mr. Palmer (L.) receiving 4,600 votes, and Mr. Keyser (C.) 3,906, or a majority for the first-named of 694. Mr. Quelch, the Socialist candidate, had 270 votes recorded for him. Mr. Murdoch (C.), the late member, gained his seat by a majority of 351.

At Grimsby Mr. Wintringham, the Liberal candidate, made his first public speech during the course of the present contest. He criticised Alderman Doughty's political record, and at the close of his address a hearty vote of confidence in him was passed.

On the motion of Mr. McArthur in the House of Commons, a writ was ordered to be issued for the borough of Great Grimsby, Mr. Doughty having accepted the Chiltern Hundreds.

The Spanish Government was said to be steadily pursuing its way in the matter of peace negotiations, though nothing was likely to be definitely known about their progress for some days.—General Shafter's order to his army after the fall of Santiago was published. In this he thanked his troops for their exertions and congratulates them on the successful result.

Mr. Bryce, M.P., distributing the prizes to the boys at University College School, made some remarks upon the proper enjoyment of games. Hearty personal participation in them he considered beneficial, but the pleasure to be derived from merely watching others play more than problemmatical; while the position of a man who could read in a newspaper the description of a match he had not seen was to him inconceivable.

TUESDAY, July 26.—It was reported that the forces of the Nawab of Dir, a native potentate subsidised by the Government of India to keep open the Chitral road, had come into collision with the Bajauris in the Jhandol Valley. The losses of the latter were heavy. It was feared that the area of fighting might become larger "owing to tribal jealousies and feuds."

Spain was said to have formally proposed peace negotiations and asked for a cessation of hostilities. M. Cambon, French Ambassador in Washington, called on President M'Kinley at the request of the Spanish Government, and was expected to receive an answer on Thursday or Friday. The President said that he himself was in favour of peace, and that he would consider the request laid before him.—The American expedition reached Puerto Rico and a force was landed at Guanica. It met with no serious resistance.

The Grimsby election was fixed for next Tuesday, August 2. A section of the "Unionists" in the constituency was endeavouring to bring forward a candidate to oppose Mr. Doughty.

Judge Parry, of the Manchester County Court, was shot on the bench by a bailiff whose certificate he had just suspended for offences against the law. Four shots were fired, one of which entered the cheek and another the neck of the judge. The wounds were serious, but not such as to prove fatal in ordinary circumstances.

WEDNESDAY, July 27.—The American newspapers were now occupied in discussing the probable terms of peace which President M'Kinley would offer to Spain. These were believed to be—(1) Cuba for the Cubans under an American protectorate; (2) the cession of Puerto Rico; and (3) some arrangement in the Philippines which would give the United States commercial and strategic advantages without much responsibility for the government of the islands. Though the President had declared that he desired peace, there was a party with some highly-placed adherents which would prefer to see the war continue. In any case it would continue until Spain had shown a disposition to accept the terms which America would offer.

Sir W. Harcourt, M.P., spoke this evening at a banquet given by the Liberals of East Herts to the Hon. C. R. Spencer in acknowledgment of the gallant fight he lately made for the Parliamentary representation of the division. Rejoicing over the condition of Liberalism, Sir William said of course there would always be deserters who thought to gain by going. They would be as much despised by the people to whom they ran as by those from whom they ran. They might be used, but they would not be adopted. After commenting on dissensions in the Ministry, he said the country, for some time disappointed with the Government, was now disgusted. A more inglorious Session than the present one never drew to a close. This great Government had been found out, but the Liberal party had weathered the storm, and its triumph was approaching.

Mr. R. D. Melhuish, a fish merchant of Grimsby, came forward as an independent Conservative candidate for the ensuing election in opposition to Mr. Wintringham (L.), and Alderman Doughty (U.).

Mr. Hooley appeared to-day at a sitting in bankruptcy for public examination, and began to explain how he spent enormous sums of money in promoting his companies. Amongst those whom he paid to become directors he named Earl De La Warr, the Earl of Winchilsea, and the Earl of Albemarle, and he explained that his object in paying them was to induce the public to subscribe to the companies. He remembered a great many payments to newspapers, but only mentioned by name the *Pall Mall Gazette* and the *Financial Post*. A payment of £10,000 to Mr. Marks, of the *Financial News*, was not a bribe, but represented a deal in shares. The examination was to be resumed on Monday.

THE FUNCTION OF EMPIRE.

A HAPPY HUNTING-GROUND FOR A "CAREER."

CURIOUS SPEECH BY THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE.

The Duke of Devonshire distributed the prizes at a school at Eastbourne last Saturday (July 23), and in the course of his speech said:—

Nowhere did there exist a more wide, a more ample, or a more fruitful field for the exercise of the intelligence of the civilised man than existed to-day in England. The vast variety of occupations, which were centred in this island, afforded ever-increasing opportunities for the employment of the educated individual. There were many of them who no doubt would seek a career in the great public service of their country, and they could not seek a more useful or a more honourable career, though possibly they might find others more lucrative. But to those of them to whom a career in the public service was not open, there remained a still wider field in the industries and commerce of the nation and in all those professions which their complicated civilisation had made essential to its well-being and progress; and if England did not afford them a sufficiently wide field for their energies, there remained beyond the British Empire. That they were an Imperial nation was not a mere sentiment gratifying to their national pride or their national ambition. It was an important factor in the life of every Englishman, and especially of every Englishman who was just entering into active life. It was not for the mere pleasure of ruling over millions of more or less civilised people, of governing hundreds of thousands of square miles of more or less productive territory, that they valued their Empire and intended to keep it. It was because the Empire afforded to the people, and especially to their young men, a field for work, a field for the application of intelligence and energy such as no other country in the world possessed. (Cheers.) It was for reasons of that sort that they intended not to allow the dominions or the power of the British Empire to be diminished through any negligence or default on their part. (Cheers.) If they would in their hours of study, and not less in their hours of amusement, bear in mind that as Englishmen they were also citizens of the British Empire, that all our colonies and foreign possessions were open to them—India and Africa not less than Canada and Australia—if they would remember that there was scarcely a corner in the world in which they might not seek a career without abandoning their English nationality, without losing their English associations or their English character—if they would bear those things in mind, they needed no better or higher incentive to take the fullest advantage which they could of the opportunities which were offered to them during the important, but at the same time all too short, years of their school career.

Commenting on this speech, the *Manchester Guardian* (July 25) wrote:—

In giving the prizes at a school on Saturday the Duke of Devonshire bade the boys think about the Empire and of the great number of posts which it would offer them when they grew up. He even said that for this it was founded—to find work for young men. This is all very true, in a way. A man can find as fine a career as he need wish for in the making of Indian famine railways or the care of Indian forests, if he does it well. Possibly boys used not to be well enough aware of the fact. But is it not dinned into their ears a little too incessantly now? It seems to be the besetting fear of many of their pastors and masters that boys and young men will not have a sufficiently inflamed sense of property in the Empire. They are lectured by Navy Leaguers; history is rewritten for them from the Imperialist point of view, with a Union Jack on the cover; for holiday tasks they are sometimes given even ill-written books on "empire-building" in preference to well-written books on anything else; there is a pervasive suggestion that the highest national calling is to be ready to square up to somebody, and that our best qualities will rust if we do not now and then go to war. Is this really the teaching that our youth most needs? The young nearly always idealise physical courage too exclusively, and particularly the act of dying in war. They should be taught civic duty, but that means something more than efforts to gain or keep land abroad. Schoolboys and undergraduates are not usually so wrapped up in designs for ridding England of her plague of drunkenness or for humanising the conditions of life in the poor quarters of her cities that their attention need be so sedulously concentrated on her foreign possessions. For all our civilisation, we are still very much like the inhabitants of the African villages where it is the easiest thing in the world to start the war dance and the hardest to make men plant crops, or be sober, or build a school. But for the last few years it seems to have been strongly felt in English universities and schools that the resemblance is inadequate, and no effort is spared to fasten the minds of our youth on ships and guns and forts and the command of the sea and the defence of the Empire in a sense in which it is almost undistinguishable from offence to everybody else.

MR. THORBURN'S SPEECH AT SIMLA.

We refer elsewhere to Mr. Thorburn's courageous speech at Simla, and the discussion which took place upon it. Here it may be interesting to reproduce the *Pioneer's* remarks (July 8) upon Sir James Westland's rejoinder to Mr. Thorburn. Our English readers will remember that the *Pioneer* is the quasi-official Anglo-Indian organ, published at Allahabad:—

It seems to us (writes the *Pioneer*) a pity that a Member of the Viceroy's Council [Sir J. Westland] should have been betrayed into what we cannot but regard as a singularly ill-considered utterance. Let us take a few of the points *seriatim*. Mr. Thorburn had attacked the policy which recalled Captain Barton from the Khyber and had spoken of August 23—the day on which the Afridis swarmed into the Pass and attacked Forts Maude and Ali-Masjid—as a day of "pain, shame, and humiliation for the British dominion in India." Sir James Westland's criticism on this was as follows: "It was no pain or humiliation to withdraw a British officer twenty miles away from the nearest military post. The Khyber Rifles were not soldiers of the British army. They represented the Afridi force and not the British force. That made all the difference. What happened was this: It was known the Afridis and Orakzai were in a restless condition; that they did not intend sticking to their agreement and keeping open the Khyber Pass. What more simple then than to say—We shall recall the man whose duty it was to superintend the Khyber Rifles, not to command them? He could not see there was any pain or humiliation in recalling an officer when an attack was expected, and that was all that was done." If anything was wanted to confirm the opinion of critics who believe that the abandonment of the Khyber was a shameful and inexcusable blunder, this extraordinary utterance would do so. Sir James Westland in the first place is quite mistaken about the Khyber Rifles. Captain Barton was *not* sent merely to superintend the Rifles: he was sent to command them. If Sir James Westland will turn to page 752 of the Army List for April, he will find Captain Barton still set down as "Commandant, Khyber Rifles." Nor is it accurate to say that the Rifles represented

the Afridis, not the British. They fought for the British on the Black Mountain, and they would in all probability have stood by the British in the Khyber had they been supported. If the simple and natural thing to do was to leave the Rifles to themselves so soon as it appeared that the Afridis did not intend sticking to their engagements, why were 50,000 rounds of Snider ammunition sent up for distribution among the Khyber posts? And if Sir James Westland's description of the Rifles is inaccurate and ungenerous in fact, it is deplorable from the point of view of policy. The reorganisation of the Khyber Rifles is at present in progress; they are again to be entrusted with the guarding of the Pass; what sort of spirit are we likely to engender in the force if the highest officials of the Empire disown any connexion with them, or any responsibility in times when their steadiness and discipline are likely to be tried, for lending them encouragement and support?

When we come to consider Sir James Westland's remarks on the causes of the frontier risings, bewilderment tends to increase rather than diminish. Catching at Mr. Thorburn's admission that the Afridis had no direct cause of offence, the Finance Member said:—"What then was the use of talking of high-handedness? (Applause). . . . . He confessed he did not see much good in examining the causes of these troubles or any other on the frontier. Men were naturally fighting animals. (Laughter and applause). The history of the British dominion in India showed how this fighting went on. The Government did not want these frontier wars; they did everything they could to prevent them. (Hear, hear.) The Durand agreement was a measure taken in the interest of peace. (Applause). There was nothing to show that what was prevented by demarcation under that agreement was not very much worse than what had occurred. It was one thing to fight the Afridis and quite another to have one great power, Afghanistan, and another still greater looking upon us with unfriendly eye. As to the risings of last year, if in avoiding a greater cause of strife they had created a smaller cause on our frontier, nevertheless they had done wisely. (Hear, hear.)." It is only necessary to recall the Sir James Westland of 1894, who, with Sir Antony MacDonnell and Sir Charles Pritchard, signed the Minute of dissent protesting against the advance into Waziristan, to put the Sir James Westland of 1898 to utter confusion. The Minute of 1894, so far from recognising the Durand agreement as an inevitable cause of trouble, expressed quite a contrary opinion. "It must not be forgotten," so one passage ran, "that the situation now is very different from what it was before the Durand agreement had been effected. The main cause of the difficulties hitherto experienced in dealing with the Waziris, viz., the Amír's assertion of suzerain rights over part of their country, and the disputes arising therefrom, has been removed." If we let them alone, the Minute proceeded, the chances were the Waziris would let us alone; but advance "will be interpreted by them as an imminent threat of annexation, and will furnish many causes of mutual irritation and quarrelling." It was also pointed out that the decision as regarded the occupation of Wano "must affect materially the rest of the independent tribal territory," in which of course is included Afridiland. In other words the Sir James Westland of 1894 anticipated no complication with the tribesmen as the result of the Durand agreement if *only the Government abstained from aggressive activity*; but he held that if they insisted on establishing posts in tribal territory, they would be pursuing a course "eminently calculated to set the whole frontier in a blaze." In the interval the Government *has* established such posts (in Waziristan, the Tochi, Chitral, etc.), the consequences predicted have ensued; but when this is pointed out, Sir James Westland now affects to regard the risings as the inevitable outcome of the Durand agreement itself, and actually declares that the Government which has taken the very steps which he in 1894 predicted might set the frontier in a blaze—that this self-same Government has "done all in its power to prevent" such a catastrophe. We leave the Finance Member with sincere sympathy to ponder over the influence of environment on the transformation of political conviction.

Sir James Westland concluded his remarkable performance in the *rôle* of an all-round official apologist by rebuking the public Press for publishing misleading and unfounded statements regarding the Tirah campaign. Now, although Sir James speaks as one who has been "behind the scenes," we are disposed to think that respectable newspapers were quite as likely to be supplied with accurate accounts of the campaign as an official in his position. The Finance Member must have taken his information from army headquarters, and army headquarters got theirs from generals in the field. This source is quite as likely to be unduly laudatory as the respectable newspaper Press is likely to be unduly depreciatory. The censorship of Press messages, for instance, has at times been so ridiculously sensitive that self-respecting correspondents, even when they were military officers, have felt it difficult to go on. There have been cases when criticism has gone beyond the facts, but on the whole we believe the public Press has done its duty in regard to the frontier operations honestly and fairly effectively.

A Simla correspondent, who was present at Colonel Hutchinson's lecture on the Tirah campaign, writes:—"The big ballroom has never before been so crowded as on Tuesday afternoon. Long before the lecture people had taken seats, and by five o'clock later comers had overflowed into the galleries and corridors, every foot of standing room being also taken up. The arrival of the Viceroy came as a surprise to nearly everyone, for it had been whispered abroad that the discussion might take a controversial turn, and that the policy of the Government might be publicly assailed. As to the lecture itself, it was closely followed by the audience, and guarded though the references were to the causes of the risings, some of us foresaw that an opening had been given to any bold debater who might care to deal with the 'alleged' causes. When the applause at the close had died away there was a little pause, as no one immediately accepted Sir Edwin Collen's invitation to rise and speak. There were half-a-dozen high military officials, from the Chief downwards, with speeches ready in their pockets, but none of these seemed anxious to 'catch the Speaker's eye.' This gave Mr. Thorburn his opportunity, and having informally asked whether the Lieutenant-Governor was going to speak, and learning that Sir Mackworth Young had no intention of doing so, he moved to the platform. Mr. Thorburn had not spoken a minute before he had won the full attention of his listeners. His opening reference to the 'flimsy jerry-buildings' run up on the frontier showed the line that he was about to take. As he warmed to his subject and plunged into his attack on the policy of the Government, something like dismay spread among those in the 'front seats,' some of the occupants of which—including of course his Excellency the Viceroy—were responsible for the very policy attacked. The applause which broke out from time to time was fairly general, and assuredly the speaker carried most of the audience with him when he referred to the withdrawal of Captain Barton from Lundi Kotal, and described August 23 as a day of pain, shame, and humiliation. There was no possible doubt as to the approbation of the sentiments expressed, even though Sir James Westland chose afterwards to refer to it as coming from the back seats. Even if it had there were many there, late arrivals, who were not 'Congress-wallahs,' as an officer observed later on, and who were quite as competent as the Financial Member to form a judgment on the events of last August. Mr. Thorburn was loudly applauded when he had finished. The fat was in the fire then, and when Sir James Westland rose to reply the blaze sprang up higher than ever. As to his speech, the opening reference to the National Congress was singularly out of place, and it could only have been made in a fit of temper. The defence offered for the abandonment of the Khyber was so ludicrously weak that it convinced no one, though there were a few officials who applauded the remarks. Sir James afterwards dwelt upon the necessity of accuracy of statement by all critics, but his speech was most inaccurate—witness his description of the position held by Captain Barton and the status of the Khyber Rifles—while he made a grievous blunder in taking August 23 as the day of recall of the commandant, whereas it was the day when the Afridis actually raided the Khyber in the face of 12,000 men massed in and about Peshawar. The Financial Member cooled down before he came to the end of his speech, but he could not remove the bad effect produced by his opening sentences. Sir Mackworth Young poured oil upon the troubled waters; but there was to be no more excitement, as time was passing and the evening was closing in. Colonel Hill's humorous remarks were warmly welcomed as giving a new turn to the discussion, and Sir Edwin Collen had an easy task in closing the business of the meeting, as no one expected a summing-up under the circumstances."

The question has arisen, in connexion with the discussion of Colonel Hutchinson's recent lecture at Simla, whether both Mr. Thorburn and Sir James Westland did not infringe the rules forbidding Government servants to take part in political discussions at a public meeting. Rumour credits the Secretary of State with having shown himself interested in the matter.

It may be contended that the meeting of last Tuesday was not a public one in the accepted sense of the term, but one held in connexion with the United Service Institution; yet, as placards announcing the delivery of the lecture bore the words "the public are invited to attend," this contention will scarcely hold water. In the circumstance, however, the Secretary of State would be well advised to let the matter drop. The original mistake would seem to have been that any reference to political matters, such as the alleged causes of the frontier outbreak, should have been permitted even in the most guarded way. Again, the Military Member of Council was Chairman at the meeting, and could have stopped Mr. Thorburn had he chosen. Out of evil will probably come good, as the stir excited by the lecture and discussion should strengthen Sir Henry Fowler's hands in his demand for an enquiry into the Khyber affair of last August.

A supplementary volume to the well-known "Rulers of India" series is about to be issued from the Clarendon Press—a book devoted to Sir Henry Lawrence, the pacificator, by Lieut.-General J. J. McLeod Innes, R.E., V.C. The volume will contain a portrait and map.

SIR JOHN JARDINE ON THE NEW LAW OF SEDITION.

Sir John Jardine, K.C.I.E., contributes to the current number of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, under the title "Imperial Parliament Supreme in India," a valuable review of Sir Courtenay Ilbert's great work, "The Government of India." The concluding portion of Sir J. Jardine's article is as follows:

The traditions of Parliament will prevent that august body ever loosening its grasp over a vast continent for which it has done so much; and we would welcome a strong Indian phalanx in the House of Commons, well-informed like the Scottish party. But for safeguarding the policy which enjoins caution and respect for the wishes of fellow-subjects so different to ourselves, the local legislatures have become essential. To them much of the Digest is devoted; and one of the lessons of this valuable book we take to be that future developments of the Indian constitution will be in the direction of enlarging their powers.

In the interval, and especially as the Native Press has just been brought under severer criminal laws, I would venture to suggest that the non-official members should be treated as informal counsellors. It seems that Parliament has not legislated for the Press; and so Sir C. Ilbert leaves that topic out of his Digest. But in unearthing (pp. 492-532) a long despatch of 1834 from the Court of Directors, he has, I think, done the State some service in this present year of grace. The Directors were afraid of "rash and thoughtless legislation," the result of passing emotion, or official cliques, or ignorance of the people. They wrote to the Government in an elevated strain. "The whole civil and military government of India is in your hands, and for what is good or evil in the administration of it, the honour or dishonour will redound upon you." Again, "when the discussion is confined to the seclusion of a chamber, it is only the determined prudence of those that are concerned that can guard against the hazard of precipitance." Allusion is made to the "eagerness of some temporary advantage, the consciousness of power, the pride of a fancied superiority of race, the absence of any adequate check from public opinion." To avoid disasters, the authorities were told not to pass laws in a hurry, but to appoint fixed stages as in Parliament, so that ample discussion might occur at every stage, and the same publicity be secured as in England, with its wholesome conflicts of opinion. "Care above all things should be taken not to make casual misconduct the occasion of harsh legislation. To put down abuse even by a strong act of authority were better than to give it importance and in some sense perpetuity by founding on it, when it takes place, a severe and undiscriminating law." The statesmen of those days had thought much of the revolutions in France, and had witnessed the failure of the Austrians in Lombardy and the Bourbons in Naples to smother the mutterings of Italian opinion. To let sleeping dogs lie is a good rule of conduct. I am impressed by the remarks of Sir James Macintosh in 1810 on Napoleon's new criminal code. State crimes filled about four-tenths of the whole, and yet vague generalities were added, to catch the most innocent actions, especially in describing political libel. The new Indian law is more carefully drafted; but in such matters all experience shows, from the time of the Seven Bishops to the Zola trial, that Ministers should be chary of putting such laws in force. Libel is like heresy, too much an affair of opinion; and the divine who is prosecuted in one decade becomes a Prelate in the next. The sage cautions of the Directors are salutary to-day, since the over-pressure of work cuts off the higher officials from literature. They grow absorbed in their duties, even sometimes to the pitch of excitement. In recent years this strain on the mind has led to several rash official prosecutions, culminating in long and scandalous State trials, sounding in acquittals, and sometimes in the unparliamentary practice of official attacks on the judges. A ruler, heart and soul devoted to his work, despises Talleyrand's maxim, *point de zèle*. One always feels a sneaking sympathy with the prophet Jonah, who, angry because Nineveh was spared, disconsolate when the sinners were let off, made him a booth and sat under it in the shadow till he might see what would become of the city. The earlier governors avoided these vexations by two expedients. They knew the languages and could at any time leave the desk and plunge into familiar intercourse with the Natives. The greater men, whose spirits still sway us, were often scholars and nearly always literary. Take Warren Hastings, skilled in Persian and Arabic, and gifted with a pen that Sir Philip Francis acknowledged to be stronger than his own. A few hours after the hanging of Nuncomar, "the conqueror in that deadly grapple sat down with characteristic self-possession to write about the Tour to the Hebrides, Jones's Persian Grammar, and the history, traditions, arts and natural productions of India." In his lighter moments he would throw off an Indian rendering of some ode of Horace. Sir John Malcolm took high rank as a historian; and when John Leyden was his guest, was quite equal to capping verses. He translated many Persian manuscripts, and delighted Sir Walter Scott by reciting Ferdusi. Of the profound Elphinstone, statesman, soldier, sportsman, linguist, historian, I need only mention the name. The Marquis Wellesley beguiled his strenuous labour with writing Latin poetry. Sir James Mackintosh's Diary shows how men like these often met like a society of authors. To all of them the laudation, *mens æqua in arduis*, is due; and our surprise that they have few successors in these less arduous times may I hope be tempered by the excuse here pleaded, namely, the increase of grinding work. But this excuse does not lessen the hardship on the prisoner or the discredit of the Government, when the law is wrongly set in motion.

Lord Harris some little time ago craved sympathy in the *Times* newspaper, because of the acquittal of a Pindaric poet in 1893 by the High Court. He had got this man convicted by a magistrate on the ground that the string of psalms and odes contained a line or two of sedition. It would be out of place to discuss here the solemn judgment of appeal, in which that learned Brahman, Mr. Justice Ranade, concurred with me in setting the poet free. But I think Lord Harris may well feel sore at the ignorance of the Gujerathi tongue shown by his advisers. Unconversant with that language himself, he surely might, by friendly intercourse with scholarly Natives, have got a perfect translation. The prosecution believed that some lines lauding the Hindus for beating off a crowd of murderers were a praise of them for attacking a regiment called out and under arms to preserve order. Lord Harris had no literary witness; and the person who smelt the sedition was a European policeman. But these psalms were in high-flown poetical Gujerathi; and when it was admitted for the Governor that a bad translation had been put before the European Magistrate, the case broke down. The words "Ye broke through the files of rifles" were not to be found in the vernacular. Lord Harris as a layman and a prosecutor still thinks the law of sedition applied to this case, whereas writing now merely as a publicist, I would treat it as just one of those to which the various cautions of the Court of Directors would apply. To my mind it proves that the time wasted on such infliction of the penal law would be better spent with a good pundit in the study of the Native languages, or in consultation with a professor of poetry, a native headman, or even those private persons of whose personal weight and influence the Directors make mention. The poems, by-the-by, are fine and vigorous, and will repay a literary perusal of the case in the Indian Law Reports, 18 Bombay, 758. Lord Harris feels that this unsuccessful resort to law lowers our prestige. He writes: "It is most inadvisable in India for the Sirkar to be upset in such cases; and this decision discouraged Government from prosecuting the authors of what Government might regard as inflammatory publications, except upon the most confident opinion of their legal advisers." The Government of India now say they welcome such cautious behaviour on the part of local authorities, to prevent the new law becoming oppressive. I fear however that each new Governor will, like Lord Harris, only learn this wisdom in the school of experience.

While a retired Governor stands in waiting, as it were, to put Pegasus in the pound, I would in some alarm raise the point, whether the Indian law of sedition would not be better moulded at St. Stephen's. The echoes of old trials, lingering in Westminster Hall, awaken prudence. There would be less hurry, there could be no panic; and with the stately Abbey and its Poet's Corner so near, a tender and abiding respect for the higher forms of literature would make itself felt. A Pindaric poet would not be treated like a Pindaree robber. It is long since Milton and Addison were in jeopardy from censors: and inconceivable that Byron, and Southey, and Shelley and Leigh Hunt would be brought into Courts of Justice now, among the tears of the Muses. It was the poet Spenser who called on peers to stand forth as protectors of literature.

> Or, rather learn'd themselves behoves to be,
> This is the girland of nobility.

Lord Elgin ought never to forget what Master John Barbour did for Robert Bruce, what Blind Harry did for Wallace. I have known the Indian ballad singer do the same service to the memory of gentle officers long passed away; and I would fain plead with any Indian Governor for the liberty of the poet in the mighty lines of Milton:—

> He can spread thy name o'er lands and seas,
> Whatever climes the sun's bright circle warms.
> Lift not thy spear against the Muses' bower;
> The great Emathian conqueror bid spare
> The house of Pindarus, when temple and tower
> Went to the ground; and the repeated air
> Of sad Electra's poet had the power
> To save the Athenian walls from ruin bare.

Lady Balfour's reluctance to leave her mother, who is advanced in years and in indifferent health, is, the *Pioneer* learns from private letters from home, one of the considerations which have made Lord Balfour of Burleigh hesitate about accepting the Viceroyalty.

The Queen has been pleased to approve the appointment of Mr. Arundel Tagg Arundel, of the Madras Civil Service, to be a member of the Council of Madras in succession to the late Mr. James Grose, C.I.E.

Imperial Parliament.

Friday, July 22.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

PETITIONS.

East India (Contagious Diseases),—Petitions against State regulation; from Newcastle-on-Tyne, Bristol (three), York, and Middleton; to lie upon the Table.

THE STRANGE CASE OF MAJOR PARSONS.

Mr. MacNeill asked the Secretary of State for India, whether his attention had been directed to the dissatisfaction amongst the members of the Burma Commission by the promotion of Major J. H. Parsons, who had served less than three years in Burma, to the post of Deputy Commissioner of the third grade over the heads of officers who had served in Burma since its annexation to the British Crown:

Whether he was aware that Major Parsons, who came to Burma as Assistant Commissioner Supernumerary in July 1884, left that country in December 1885, and having served in other pursuits elsewhere, declined, in 1890, an offer made to him of returning to the Burma Commission, when his name disappeared from the official list of the Burma Officers; that in April, 1897, Major Parsons, after an absence of eleven and a-half years from Burma, returned to that country and was placed at the bottom of the first grade Assistant Commissioners, and was, in the following October, placed at the head of this grade, superseding nine officers who had discharged for years their duties in Burma with efficiency:

Whether, in June 1898, Major Parsons was further promoted over the heads of all the fourth grade Deputy Commissioners, and over the heads of all but three of the third grade Deputy Commissioners:

On what grounds an officer with a small experience of the country was put in charge of an important district:

And whether representations had reached the Indian Government and the India Office protesting against the exercise of his patronage in the making of this appointment by the Lieutenant-Governor of Burma.

Lord G. Hamilton: No representations or complaints on this subject have reached me, but I will make enquiry, and will communicate with the Government of India on the subject.

STATE REGULATION OF VICE.

Mr. Henry J. Wilson asked the Secretary of State for India whether he would lay upon the Table the general order issued by Sir George White, then Commander-in-Chief in India, dated July 15, 1897, pointing out methods of combating the spread of venereal disease among the European troops in India, and the duty of appealing to the higher instincts of our soldiers to avoid vicious connexions.

Lord G. Hamilton: I have no objection to lay upon the Table of the House a copy of the general order issued by the Commander-in-Chief in India on July 14, 1897, regarding the means of checking venereal disease among the British troops in India.

Tuesday, July 26.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

PETITIONS.

East India (Contagious Diseases),—Petitions against State regulation; from Gorton, Halifax (eleven), Penrith, Redland, Bristol (two), Barrhead, West Norwood, and East Bristol; to lie upon the Table.

STATE REGULATION OF VICE.

Mr. Henry J. Wilson asked the Secretary of State for India whether his attention had been directed to a statement in reference to venereal disease, in Dr. Cleghorn's Report on the Health of the Army in India during the year 1896, that no mechanical or enforced organisation would do good short of such moral influence on the men as the highest military authorities promised to encourage:

And whether he would lay a copy of that Report upon the Table.

Lord G. Hamilton: I presume the hon. member refers to the Annual Report for 1896 of the Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of India (Surgeon-Major-General Cleghorn), which, however, contains no statement to the effect described in his question. An abstract of the report will be included, as usual, in the "Report on Sanitary Measures in India in 1896-97," which will be presented to Parliament in due course."

THE PRESS COMMITTEES.
PAPERS WITHHELD.

Mr. Herbert Lewis asked the Secretary of State for India whether he would obtain and lay upon the Table of the House a Copy of the Government Resolution authorising and prescribing the duties of Press Committees at Poona and elsewhere in India.

Lord G. Hamilton: I am in correspondence with the Government of Bombay on the subject of the measures to which the hon. member's question refers, and until that correspondence is complete, I cannot undertake to lay any papers on the Table.

THE CRAVING FOR MILITARY DECORATIONS.

Captain Norton asked the Secretary of State for India whether he could state if both the Commander-in-Chief at home, as well as the Commander-in-Chief in India, recommended the grant of a medal for the operations against the Kachin tribes during the cold season of 1892-3:

Upon what grounds the recommendation was refused, and the rank and file who lost 120 killed and wounded thus left unrewarded, while the senior officers received brevets, and all officers were allowed to count the campaign as war service:

And, whether the medal was granted for all operations up to April 1892, while denied for those during which the heaviest fighting took place.

Lord G. Hamilton: The grant of a medal for the operations in question was recommended by the Commander-in-Chief in India, but no recommendation was received from the Commander-in-Chief at home. The grant was refused on the ground that the operations, though attended in the case of the military police by considerable casualties, were not of sufficient extent and importance to justify the issue of a medal.

Thursday, July 28.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

PETITIONS.

East India (Contagious Diseases),—Petitions against State regulation; from Nottingham, London, and Bristol (two); to lie upon the Table.

STATEMENT OF MORAL AND MATERIAL PROGRESS.

East India (Progress and Condition),—Copy presented—of Statement exhibiting the moral and material progress and condition of India during the year 1896-7. Thirty-third number [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

PETITIONS FROM ZEMINDARS OF KHARIAR.

Mr. Herbert Roberts asked the Secretary of State for India if he had yet been able to consider and reply to the petitions presented to him by Lal Brijraj Sinh, and other zemindars of Khariar in the district of Raipur, praying for the redress of certain grievances.

Lord G. Hamilton: The memorials are still under consideration; but I hope to send a reply to India upon them by the middle of next month.

THE MADRAS TENANCY BILL.

Sir William Wedderburn asked the Secretary of State for India whether he was aware that the Select Committee appointed to report on the Madras Tenancy Bill was to hold its meetings in the hills at Ootacamund; that all the non-official members of that committee had declared their inability to attend the meetings held at that place; but that, in spite of protests, the Madras Government persisted in holding the meetings at Ootacamund:

And, whether he would direct that proper opportunity should be given to non-official members to discuss this important Bill in Committee.

Lord G. Hamilton: The Madras Tenancy Committee decided, by a majority of nearly two to one, to hold meetings at Ootacamund, two non-official members voting in the majority. The object of this exceptional step was to avoid further delay in dealing with the Bill, and to make use of the experience and knowledge of certain officers who will shortly retire. But in consequence of the difficulty which non-official members have in attending meetings at Ootacamund, it has been decided that the proposed amendments shall before they are finally adopted be submitted for consideration to the Committee in Madras, when it is presumed that all the non-official members will be present.

ANGLO-INDIANS AND INDIANS.

Mr. Leuty asked the Secretary of State for India, whether he was aware that the Commissioner of Jullundur, when Deputy Commissioner at Jhelum, caused a high Native official of the Public Works Department to be whipped because he did not salaam to the said Deputy Commissioner:

Whether the same gentleman was recently entrusted with the superintendence of delicate and important plague operations in the Jullundur division:

And, whether it was proposed to take any steps in the matter.

Lord G. Hamilton: I have ascertained that it is not true that the officer who is now Commissioner of Jullundur caused a high Native official to be whipped as suggested in the question. This being so, I do not propose to take any steps to question his fitness for any post to which he may recently have been appointed—though I regret the hon. member did not verify, before he gave it currency, this grave imputation upon the character of a high official.

THE RENEWED FIGHTING BEYOND THE FRONTIER.

Mr. Herbert Roberts asked the Secretary of State for India whether he had any information as to the reported fighting on the North-West frontier of India between the forces of the Nawab of Dir and the Bajauris:

And, whether he was in a position to state the circumstances which had led to the outbreak of hostilities.

Lord G. Hamilton: On July 24 I received information that the Nawab of Dir had started for Jandol, and subsequently I learnt that on that same day the Nawab had lost 81 killed and wounded, and Bajaur 136 killed and wounded. There has for long been friction between the Khan of Barwa supported by Dir, and Umra Khan's brothers and cousins of Manda, and this dispute has no doubt led to the present hostilities.

The following notice of motion appears in the order-book of the House of Commons:—

Mr. Herbert Roberts (on going into Committee on the East India Revenue Accounts)—To move: That, in the opinion of this House, the recent alterations made in the Law relating to sedition and the control of the Press in India, being a distinct departure from the traditional policy of the Indian Government in regard to the Press and to public criticism, demand the immediate attention of Parliament; and that, having regard to the conditions of British rule in India and to the exceptional part played by the Indian Press as the only medium for expressing the opinion of the people as to Government measures, and to the fact that such a policy of restriction and intimidation must, if persisted in, result in producing elements of danger to the Government of India, it is desirable that the legislation in question should be repealed at the earliest opportunity.

THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

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General Secretary:
A. O. HUME, C.B., Rothney Castle, Simla; and The Chalet, Upper Norwood, S.E.

Joint General Secretary (in India):
D. E. WACHA, 84, Hornby Row, Bombay.

Standing Counsel:
Bengal, W. C. BONNERJEE;
Bombay, PHEROZSHAH MEHTA;
Madras, RAI BAHADUR ANANDU CHARLU.

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Telegraphic Address: "Incas, London."

Name of Circle.	Jurisdiction.	Name and Address of Secretary or Secretaries.
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2. Dacca	Dacca District	Babu Sarat Chandra Bose, Pleader, Rajar Deory, Dacca.
3. Maimansingh	Maimansingh District	Babu Anath Bandhu Guha, Sec., Maimansingh Association, Maimansingh.
4. Faridpur	Faridpur District	Babu Ambica Churn Mozumdar, Pleader, Faridpur.
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9. Bogra	Bogra District	Babu Peary Sunker Das Gupta, L.M.S., Medical Practitioner, Bogra.
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11. Rampur-Beauleah	Rajshahyi District	Dr. Chandra Nath Chowdry, Rampur-Beauleah.
12. Berhampur	Murshidabad District	Babu Boikunt Nath Sen, Berhampur, Dist. Murshidabad.
13. Bhagalpur	Bhagalpur Division (*except* Purneah District)	Babus Siva Sankar Sahai and Surya Prosad, Bhagalpur.
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15. Chutia-Nagpur	Chutia-Nagpur Division	Rai Jodu Nath Mukerji, Pleader, Hazaribagh.
16. Behar	Patna Division (excluding the Muzaffarpur and Gaya Districts)	Babu Banwari Lal, Patna City.
17. Muzaffarpur	Muzaffarpur District	Babu Preo Nath Mukherji, B.L., Vakil, Muzaffarpur.
18. Gaya	Gaya District	Babus Nand Kishore Lal and Upendra Chandra Mittra, Gaya.
19. N.-W. Provinces	North-Western Provinces	Secretary, Standing Committee, Johnstonganj, Allahabad.
Sub-divisions of the N. W. P. for the purpose of distributing "India."		
Name of Sub-division.	Jurisdiction.	
Gorakhpur	Gorakhpur Division	A. Nundy, Esq., Gorakhpur.
Benares	Benares Division (*except* Mirzapur District)	Pandit Channu Lal, Benares City.
Mirzapur	Mirzapur District	Babu Sri Ram, Mirzapur.
Cawnpur	Cawnpur District	Pandit Perthi Nath, Cawnpur.
Bareilly	Bareilly District	The Secretary, Congress Committee, Bareilly.
Moradabad	Moradabad District	N. C. Bose, Esq., Moradabad.
Saharanpur	Saharanpur District	Babu Anand Swarupa, B.A., LL.B., Vakil, Saharanpur
Meerut	Meerut District	Babu Prahlad Singh, Meerut.
Aligarh	Aligarh District	Hafiz M. Abdur Rahim, Esq., Aligarh.
Agra	Agra Division	Pandit Tulsi Ram Misra, Mursan, Dist. Aligarh.
Allahabad	All places in the N.W.P. not above enumerated	Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Sec. for the N.-W. P. Circle, Allahabad.
20. Oudh	Oudh	Munshi Ganga Prasad Varma, Office of the *Advocate*, Lucknow.
21. Punjab	The Punjab	Lala Jrishi Ram, Secretary, Congress Committee, Lahore; Babu Chetan Anand, Multan; Bhagat Ram, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, Jalandhar City; Lala Murli Dhar, Pleader, Ambala City; Babu Kedar Nath, Pleader, Delhi; and Pandit Perthi Nath, Pleader, Peshawur.
22. Bombay	Bombay Island, Colaba, Thana & Ratnagiri Dists.	D. E. Wacha, Esq., Presidency Association, Bombay.
23. Sind	Sind	Tahilram Khemchand, Esq., Pleader, Karachi; Himatsing G. Advani, Esq., Shikarpur and Hiranand Khemsing, Esq., Haidarabad.
24. Ahmedabad	Ahmedabad, Kaira and Panch Mahals Districts, Cutch and Kathiawar, Rajkot	Rao Saheb Kesavalal Motilal and Ratanlal Ranchhoddas, B.A., Pleaders, Ahmedabad.
25. Surat	Surat and Broach Districts, with Baroda	Hardevram Nanabhai Haridas, Esq., and Bhagubai Dayabhai, Esq., Surat.
26. Sholapur	Sholapur District	Vishem R. Lele, Esq., Sholapur.
27. Bijapur	Bijapur District	Krishnaji Raghunath Natu, Esq., B.A., LL.B., Bijapur.
28. Dharwar	Dharwar District	Sec., Standing Congress Committee, Dharwar, and Raghunath A. Sule, Esq., Hubli.
29. Satara	Satara District	Raghunath Pandurang Karandikar, Esq., High Court Pleader, Satara.
30. Ahmadnagar	Ahmadnagar District	Shankar Gangadhar Ranade, Mohenlal Hiralal and Kashinath Vinayak Bhawe, Pleaders, Ahmadnagar.
31. Poona	Poona, Nasik, & Khandesh Districts	Laxuman Raghunath Gokhale, Esq., Pleader, Poona.
32. Ichalkaranji	Southern Mahratta Country	Sadashiv Ramchandra Apte, Ichalkaranji, near Kolhapur, S.M. Country.
33. Berar	Berar	R. N. Mudholkar, Esq., and B. H. Karandikar, Esq., Pleaders, High Court, Amraoti.
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